Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln

BIOGRAPHICAL EDITION

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Number.....

Complete Works *of* Abraham Lincoln

Edited by

JOHN G. NICOLAY *and* JOHN HAY

With a General Introduction *by*
RICHARD WATSON GILDER, and Special Articles
by OTHER EMINENT PERSONS

New and Enlarged Edition

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The Loss of Lincoln[1]

AND Moses went up from the plains of Moab, unto the mountain of Nebo, to the top of Pisgah, that is over against Jericho; and the Lord showed him all the land of Gilead, unto Dan, and all Naphtali, and the land of Ephraim, and Manasseh, and all the land of Judah, unto the utmost sea, and the south, and the plain of the valley of Jericho, the city of palm trees, unto Zoar. And the Lord said unto him, this is the land which I swear unto Abraham, unto Isaac, and unto Jacob, saying, I will give it unto thy seed: I have caused thee to see it with thine eyes, but thou shalt not go over thither. So Moses, the servant of the Lord, died there in the land of Moab, according to the word of the Lord — *Deut. xxxiv. 1–5.*

There is no historic figure more noble than that of the Jewish lawgiver. After so many thousand years, the figure of Moses is not diminished, but stands up against the background of early days, distinct and individual as if he had lived but yesterday. There is scarcely another event in history more touching than his death. He had borne the great burdens of States for

[1] A sermon delivered April 23, 1865.

forty years, shaped the Jews to a nation, filled out their civil and religious polity, administered their laws, guided their steps, or dwelt with them in all their journeyings in the wilderness; had mourned in their punishments, kept step with their march, and led them in wars, until the end of their labors drew nigh. The last stage was reached. Jordan only lay between them and the promised land. The promised land! Oh, what yearnings had heaved his breast for that divinely promised place! He had dreamed of it by night; and mused by day. It was holy and endeared as God's favored spot. It was to be the cradle of an illustrious history. All his long, laborious, and now weary life, he had aimed at this as the consummation of every desire the reward of every toil and pain. Then came the word of the Lord to him, "Thou mayest not go over. Get thee up into the mountain, look upon it, and die."

From that silent summit, the hoary leader gazed to the north, to the south, to the west, with hungry eyes. The dim outlines rose up. The hazy recesses spoke of quiet valleys between the hills. With eager longing, with sad resignation, he looked upon the promised land. It was now to him a forbidden land. It was a moment's anguish. He forgot all his personal wants, and drank in the vision of his people's

home. His work was done. There lay God's promise fulfilled. There was the seat of coming Jerusalem; there the city of Judah's King; the sphere of judges and prophets; the mount of sorrow and salvation; the nest whence were to fly blessings innumerable to all mankind. Joy chased sadness from every feature, and the prophet laid him down and died.

Again a great leader of the people has passed through toil, sorrow, battle, and war, and come near to the promised land of peace, into which he might not pass over. Who shall recount our martyr's sufferings for this people? Since the November of 1860, his horizon has been black with storms. By day and by night, he trod a way of danger and darkness. On his shoulders rested a government dearer to him than his own life. At its integrity millions of men were striking at home. Upon this government foreign eyes lowered. It stood like a lone island in a sea full of storms; and every tide and wave seemed eager to devour it. Upon thousands of hearts great sorrows and anxieties have rested, but not on one such, and in such measure, as upon that simple, truthful, noble soul, our faithful and sainted Lincoln. Never rising to the enthusiasm of more impassioned natures in hours of hope, and never sinking with the mercurial in hours of defeat to the depths of de-

spondency, he held out with unmovable patience and fortitude, putting caution against hope, that it might not be premature, and hope against caution, that it might not yield to dread and danger. He wrestled ceaselessly, through four black and dreadful purgatorial years, wherein God was cleansing the sin of his people as by fire.

At last, the watcher beheld the gray dawn for the country. The mountains began to give forth their forms from out the darkness; and the East came rushing towards us with arms full of joy for all our sorrows. Then it was for him to be glad exceedingly, that had sorrowed immeasurably. Peace could bring to no other heart such joy, such rest, such honor, such trust, such gratitude. But he looked upon it as Moses looked upon the promised land. Then the wail of a nation proclaimed that he had gone from among us. Not thine the sorrow, but ours, sainted soul. Thou hast indeed entered the promised land, while we are yet on the march. To us remains the rocking of the deep, the storm upon the land, days of duty and nights of watching; but thou art sphered high above all darkness and fear, beyond all sorrow and weariness. Rest, oh weary heart! Rejoice exceedingly, thou that hast enough suffered! Thou hast beheld Him who invisibly led thee in this great wilderness.

Thou standest among the elect. Around thee are the royal men that have ennobled human life in every age. Kingly art thou, with glory on thy brow as a diadem. And joy is upon thee for ever more. Over all this land, over all the little cloud of years that now from thine infinite horizon moves back as a speck, thou art lifted up as high as the star is above the clouds that hide us, but never reach it. In the goodly company of Mount Zion thou shalt find that rest which thou hast sorrowing sought in vain; and thy name, an everlasting name in heaven, shall flourish in fragrance and beauty as long as men shall last upon the earth, or hearts remain, to revere truth, fidelity, and goodness.

Never did two such orbs of experience meet in one hemisphere, as the joy and the sorrow of the same week in this land. The joy was as sudden as if no man had expected it, and as entrancing as if it had fallen a sphere from heaven. It rose up over sobriety, and swept business from its moorings, and ran down through the land in irresistible course. Men embraced each other in brotherhood that were strangers in the flesh. They sang, or prayed, or, deeper yet, many could only think thanksgiving and weep gladness. That peace was sure; that government was firmer than ever; that the land was cleansed of plague; that the

divided people into unity of grief and indivisible fellowship of anguish.

For myself, I cannot yet command that quietness of spirit needed for a just and temperate delineation of a man whom goodness has made great. Leaving that, if it please God, to some other occasion, I pass to some considerations, aside from the martyr President's character, which may be fit for this hour's instruction.

Let us not mourn that his departure was so sudden, nor fill our imagination with horror at its method. Men, long eluding and evading sorrow, when at last they are overtaken by it, seem enchanted, and seek to make their sorrow sorrowful to the very uttermost, and to bring out every drop of suffering which they possibly can. This is not Christian, though it may be natural. When good men pray for deliverance from sudden death, it is only that they may not be plunged without preparation, all disrobed, into the presence of their Judge.

When one is ready to depart, suddenness of death is a blessing. It is a painful sight to see a tree overthrown by a tornado, wrenched from its foundations, and broken down like a weed; but it is yet more painful to see a vast and venerable tree lingering with vain strife against decay, which age and infirmity have marked for destruction. The process by which strength

wastes, and the mind is obscured, and the tabernacle is taken down, is humiliating and painful; and it is good and grand when a man departs to his rest from out of the midst of duty, full-armed and strong, with pulse beating time. For such an one to go suddenly, if he be prepared to go, is but to terminate a most noble life in its most noble manner. Mark the words of the Master.

Let your loins be girded about, and your lights burning; and ye yourselves like unto men that wait for their lord, when he will return from the wedding; that when he cometh and knocketh they may open unto him immediately. Blessed are those servants whom the lord when he cometh shall find watching.

Not that they go in a stupor, but they that go with all their powers about them, and wide-awake, to meet their Master, as to a wedding, are blessed. He died watching. He died with his armor on. In the midst of hours of labors, in the very heart of patriotic consultations, just returned from camps and councils, he was stricken down. No fever dried his blood. No slow waste consumed him. All at once, in full strength and manhood, with his girdle tight about him, he departed, and walks with God.

Nor was the manner of his death more shocking, if we divest it of the malignity of the

motives which caused it. The mere instrument itself is not one that we should shrink from contemplating. Have not thousands of soldiers fallen on the field of battle by the bullets of the enemy? Is being killed in battle counted to be a dreadful mode of dying? It was as if he had died in battle. Do not all soldiers that must fall ask to depart in the hour of battle and victory? He went in the hour of victory.

There has not been a poor drummer-boy in all this war that has fallen for whom the great heart of Lincoln would not have bled; there has not been one private soldier, without note or name, slain among thousands, and hid in the pit among hundreds, without even the memorial of a separate burial, for whom the President would not have wept. He was a man from the common people that never forgot his kind. And now that he who might not bear the march, and toil, and battles with these humble citizens has been called to die by the bullet, as they were, do you not feel that there was a peculiar fitness to his nature and life, that he should in death be joined with them, in a final common experience, to whom he had been joined in all his sympathies.

For myself, when any event is susceptible of a higher and nobler garnishing, I know not what that disposition is that would seek to drag it down to the depths of gloom, and write it all

over with the scrawls of horror or fear. I let the light of nobler thoughts fall upon his departure, and bless God that there is some argument of consolation in the matter and manner of his going, as there was in the matter and manner of his staying. This blow was but the expiring rebellion. As a miniature gives all the form and features of its subject, so, epitomized in this foul act, we find the whole nature and disposition of slavery. It begins in a wanton destruction of all human rights, and in a desecration of all the sanctities of heart and home; and it is the universal enemy of mankind, and of God, who made man. It can be maintained only at the sacrifice of every right and moral feeling in its abettors and upholders. I deride the man that points me to any man bred amid slavery, believing in it, and willingly practicing it, and tells me that he is a *man*. I shall find saints in perdition sooner than I shall find true manhood under the influences of so accursed a system as this. It is a two-edged sword, cutting both ways, violently destroying manhood in the oppressor. The problem is solved, the demonstration is completed, in our land. Slavery wastes its victims; and it destroys the masters. It destroys public morality, and the possibility of it. It corrupts manhood in its very centre and elements. Communities in which it exists are

not to be trusted. They are rotten. Nor can you find timber grown in this accursed soil of iniquity that is fit to build our ship of state, or lay the foundation of our households. The patriotism that grows up under this blight, when put to proof, is selfish and brittle; and he that leans upon it shall be pierced. The honor that grows up in the midst of slavery is not honor, but a bastard quality that usurps the place of its better, only to disgrace the name of honor. And, as long as there is conscience, or reason, or Christianity, the honor that slavery begets will be a bye-word and a hissing. The whole moral nature of men reared to familiarity and connivance with slavery is death-smitten. The needless rebellion; the treachery of its leaders to oaths and solemn trusts; their violation of the commonest principles of fidelity, sitting in senates, in councils, in places of public confidence, only to betray and to destroy; the long, general and unparalleled cruelty to prisoners, without provocation, and utterly without excuse: the unreasoning malignity and fierceness—these all mark the symptoms of that disease of slavery which is a deadly poison to soul and body.

I do not say that there are not single natures, here and there, scattered through the vast wilderness which is covered with this poisonous vine, who escape the poison. There are, but

they are not to be found among the men that believe in it, and that have been moulded by it. They are the exceptions. Slavery is itself barbarity. That nation which cherishes it is barbarous; and no outward tinsel or glitter can redeem it from the charge of barbarism. And it was fit that its expiring blow should be such as to take away from men the last forbearance, the last pity, and fire the soul with an invincible determination that the breeding-ground of such mischiefs and monsters shall be utterly and forever destroyed. We needed not that he should put on paper that he believed in slavery, who, with treason, with murder, with cruelty infernal, hovered around that majestic man to destroy his life. He was himself but the long sting with which slavery struck at liberty; and he carried the poison that belonged to slavery. And so long as this nation lasts, it will never be forgotten that we have had one martyred President—never! Never, while time lasts, while heaven lasts, while hell rocks and groans, will it be forgotten that slavery, by its minions, slew him, and, in slaying him, made manifest its whole nature and tendency.

This blow was aimed at the life of the government and of the nation. Lincoln was slain; America was meant. The man was cast down; the government was smitten at. The President

was killed: it was national life, breathing freedom, and meaning beneficence, that was sought.

He, the man of Illinois, the private man, divested of robes and the insignia of authority, representing nothing but his personal self, might have been hated; but it was not that that ever would have called forth the murderer's blow. It was because he stood in the place of government, representing government, and a government that represented right and liberty, that he was singled out.

This then is a crime against universal government. It is not a blow at the foundations of our government, more than at the foundations of the English Government, of the French Government, of every compacted and well-organized government. It was a crime against mankind. The whole world will repudiate and stigmatize it as a deed without a shade of redeeming light. For this was not the oppressed, goaded to extremity, turning on his oppressor. Not the shadow of a cloud, even, has rested on the South, of wrong; and they knew it right well.

In a council held in the City of Charleston, just preceding the attack on Fort Sumter, two commissioners were appointed to go to Washington; one on the part of the army from Fort Sumter, and one on the part of the Confederates. The lieutenant that was designated to go for

us said it seemed to him that it would be of little use for him to go, as his opinion was immovably fixed in favor of maintaining the Government in whose service he was employed. Then Governor Pickens took him aside, detaining, for an hour and a half, the railroad train that was to convey them on their errand. He opened to him the whole plan and secret of the Southern conspiracy, and said to him, distinctly and repeatedly (for it was needful, he said, to lay aside disguises), that the South had never been wronged, and that all their pretences of grievances in the matter of tariffs, or anything else, were invalid. "But," said he, "we must carry the people with us; and we allege these things, as all statesmen do many things that they do not believe, because they are the only instruments by which the people can be managed." He then and there declared that the two sections of country were so antagonistic in ideas and policies that they could not live together, that it was foreordained that Northern and Southern men must keep apart on account of differences in ideas and policies, and that all the pretences of the South about wrongs suffered were but pretences, as they very well knew. This is testimony which was given by one of the leaders in the rebellion, and which will, probably, ere long, be given under hand and seal to the public.

So the South has never had wrong visited upon it except by that which was inherent in it.

This was not, then, the avenging hand of one goaded by tyranny. It was not a despot turned on by his victims. It was the venomous hatred of liberty wielded by an avowed advocate of slavery. And, though there may have been cases of murder in which there were shades of palliation, yet this murder was without provocation, without temptation, without reason, sprung from the fury of a heart cankered to all that was just and good, and corrupted by all that was wicked and foul. The blow has signally failed. The cause is not stricken; it is strengthened. This nation has dissolved but in tears only. It stands four-square, more solid, to-day, than any pyramid in Egypt. This people are neither wasted, nor daunted, nor disordered. Men hate slavery and love liberty with stronger hate and love to-day than ever before. The Government is not weakened, it is made stronger. How naturally and easily were the ranks closed! Another stepped forward, in the hour that the one fell, to take his place and his mantle; and I avow my belief that he will be found a man true to every instinct of liberty; true to the whole trust that is reposed in him; vigilant of the Constitution; careful of the laws; wise for liberty, in that he himself, through his life, has known what

it was to suffer from the stings of slavery, and to prize liberty from bitter personal experiences.

Where could the head of government in any monarchy be smitten down by the hand of an assassin, and the funds not quiver nor fall one-half of one per cent? After a long period of national disturbance, after four years of drastic war, after tremendous drafts on the resources of the country, in the height and top of our burdens, the heart of this people is such that now, when the head of government is stricken down, the public funds do not waver, but stand as the granite ribs in our mountains.

Republican institutions have been vindicated in this experience as they never were before; and the whole history of the last four years, rounded up by this cruel stroke, seems, in the providence of God, to have been clothed, now, with an illustration, with a sympathy, with an aptness and with a significance, such as we never could have expected nor imagined. God, I think, has said, by the voice of this event, to all nations of the earth, "Republican liberty, based upon true Christianity, is firm as the foundation of the globe."

Even he who now sleeps has, by this event, been clothed with new influence. Dead, he speaks to men who now willingly hear what before they refused to listen to. Now his simple

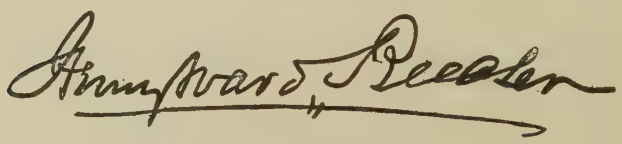
and weighty words will be gathered like those of Washington, and your children, and your children's children, shall be taught to ponder the simplicity and deep wisdom of utterances which in their time, passed, in party heat, as idle words. Men will receive a new impulse of patriotism for his sake, and will guard with zeal the whole country which he loved so well. I swear you, on the altar of his memory, to be more faithful to the country for which he has perished. They will, as they follow his hearse, swear a new hatred to that slavery against which he warred, and which, in vanquishing him, has made him a martyr and a conqueror. I swear you, by the memory of this martyr, to hate slavery with an unappeasable hatred. They will admire and imitate the firmness of this man, his inflexible conscience for the right; and yet his gentleness, as tender as a woman's, his moderation of spirit, which, not all the heat of party could inflame, nor all the jars and disturbances of this country shake out of its place. I swear you to an emulatoin of his justice, his moderation, and his mercy.

You I can comfort; but how can I speak to that twilight million to whom his name was as the name of an angel of God? There will be wailing in places which no minister shall be able to reach. When, in hovel and in cot, in

wood and in wilderness, in the field throughout the South, the dusky children, who looked upon him as that Moses whom God sent before them to lead them out of the land of bondage, learn that he has fallen, who shall comfort them? O, thou Shepherd of Israel, that didst comfort thy people of old, to thy care we commit the helpless, the long-wronged, and grieved. And now the martyr is moving in triumphal march, mightier than when alive. The nation rises up at every stage of his coming. Cities and states are his pall-bearers, and the cannon beats the hours with solemn progression. Dead, *dead,* DEAD, he yet speaketh! Is Washington dead? Is Hampton dead? Is David dead? Is any man that ever was fit to live dead? Disenthralled of flesh, and risen in the unobstructed sphere where passion never comes, he begins his illimitable work. His life now is grafted upon the infinite, and will be fruitful as no earthly life can be. Pass on, thou that hast overcome! Your sorrows, oh people, are his peace! Your bells, and bands, and muffled drums, sound triumph in his ear. Wail and weep here; God makes it echo joy and triumph there. Pass on!

Four years ago, oh, Illinois, we took from your midst an untried man, and from among the people. We return him to you a mighty

conquerer. Not thine any more, but the nation's; not ours, but the world's. Give him place, oh, ye prairies! In the midst of this great continent his dust shall rest, a sacred treasure to myriads who shall pilgrim to that shrine to kindle anew their zeal and patriotism. Ye winds that move over the mighty places of the West, chant his requiem! Ye people, behold a martyr whose blood, as so many articulate words, pleads for fidelity, for law, for liberty.



Abraham Lincoln

FOULLY ASSASSINATED, APRIL 14, 1865

By Tom Taylor [1]

You lay a wreath on murdered Lincoln's bier!
You, who with mocking pencil wont to trace,
Broad for the self-complacent British sneer,
His length of shambling limb, his furrowed face,

His gaunt, gnarled hands, his unkempt, bristling hair,
His garb uncouth, his bearing ill at ease,
His lack of all we prize as debonair,
Of power or will to shine, of art to please;

You, whose smart pen backed up the pencil's laugh,
Judging each step, as though the way were plain;
Reckless, so it could point its paragraph,
Of chief's perplexity, or people's pain!

Beside this corpse, that bears for winding-sheet
The stars and stripes he lived to rear anew,
Between the mourners at his head and feet,
Say, scurrile jester, is there room for *you?*

[1] The authorship of this poem is in some doubt. It has been attributed also to Shirley Brooks. It was originally published in *Punch*, London, May 6, 1865.

Yes; he had liv'd to shame me from my sneer,
To lame my pencil, and confute my pen,
To make me own this hind of princes peer,
This rail-splitter a true-born king of men.

My shallow judgment I had learn'd to rue,
Noting how to occasion's height he rose;
How his quaint wit made home-truth seem more true;
How, iron-like, his temper grew by blows;

How humble, yet how hopeful he could be;
How in good fortune and in ill the same;
Nor bitter in success, nor boastful he,
Thirsty for gold, nor feverish for fame.

He went about his work,— such work as few
Ever had laid on head and heart and hand,—
As one who knows, where there's a task to do,
Man's honest will must Heaven's good grace command;

Who trusts the strength will with the burden grow,
That God makes instruments to work his will,
If but that will we can arrive to know,
Nor tamper with the weights of good and ill.

So he went forth to battle, on the side
That he felt clear was Liberty's and Right's,
As in his peasant boyhood he had plied
His warfare with rude Nature's thwarting mights,—

The unclear'd forest, the unbroken soil,
The iron bark that turns the lumberer's axe,
The rapid that o'erbears the boatman's toil,
The prairie hiding the maz'd wanderer's tracks,

The ambush'd Indian, and the prowling bear,—
Such were the deeds that help'd his youth to train:
Rough culture, but such trees large fruit may bear,
If but their stocks be of right girth and grain.

So he grew up, a destin'd work to do,
And liv'd to do it; four long-suffering years'
Ill fate, ill feeling, ill report, liv'd through,
And then he heard the hisses change to cheers,

The taunts to tribute, the abuse to praise
And took both with the same unwavering mood,—
Till, as he came on light from darkling days,
And seem'd to touch the goal from where he stood,

A felon hand, between the goal and him,
Reach'd from behind his back, a trigger prest —
And those perplex'd and patient eyes were dim,
Those gaunt, long-laboring limbs were laid to rest.

The words of mercy were upon his lips,
Forgiveness in his heart and on his pen,
When this vile murderer brought swift eclipse
To thoughts of peace on earth, goodwill to men.

The Old World and the New, from sea to sea,
Utter one voice of sympathy and shame.
Sore heart, so stopped when it at last beat high!
Sad life, cut short just as its triumph came!

A deed accurs'd! Strokes have been struck before
By the assassin's hand, whereof men doubt
If more of horror or disgrace they bore;
But thy foul crime, like Cain's, stands darkly out,

Vile hand, that brandest murder on a strife,
Whate'er its grounds, stoutly and nobly striven,
And with the martyr's crown crownest a life
With much to praise, little to be forgiven.

Illustrations

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Photogravure after the painting from life by Frank B. Carpenter in 1860, now in the Capitol in Washington.

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Wood-engraving after a photograph by Brady.

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After a photograph taken shortly after the completion of the monument.

Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln

Volume X

[1864---1864]

Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln

Account of the Emancipation Proclamation related to F. B. Carpenter

February 6, 1864

"IT HAD got to be," said Mr. Lincoln, "midsummer, 1862. Things had gone on from bad to worse, until I felt that we had reached the end of our rope on the plan of operations we had been pursuing; that we had about played our last card, and must change our tactics, or lose the game. I now determined upon the adoption of the emancipation policy; and without consultation with, or the knowledge of, the Cabinet, I prepared the original draft of the proclamation, and, after much anxious thought, called a Cabinet meeting upon the subject. This was the last of July or the first part of the month of August, 1862. [The exact date was July 22, 1862.] . . . All were present

excepting Mr. Blair, the Postmaster-General, who was absent at the opening of the discussion, but came in subsequently. I said to the Cabinet that I had resolved upon this step, and had not called them together to ask their advice, but to lay the subject-matter of a proclamation before them, suggestions as to which would be in order after they had heard it read. Mr. Lovejoy was in error when he informed you that it excited no comment excepting on the part of Secretary Seward. Various suggestions were offered. Secretary Chase wished the language stronger in reference to the arming of the blacks.

"Mr. Blair, after he came in, deprecated the policy on the ground that it would cost the administration the fall elections. Nothing, however, was offered that I had not already fully anticipated and settled in my own mind, until Secretary Seward spoke. He said in substance, 'Mr. President, I approve of the proclamation, but I question the expediency of its issue at this juncture. The depression of the public mind, consequent upon our repeated reverses, is so great that I fear the effect of so important a step. It may be viewed as the last measure of an exhausted government, a cry for help; the government stretching forth its hands to Ethiopia, instead of Ethiopia stretching forth her hands to the government.' His idea," said the

President, "was that it would be considered our last *shriek* on the retreat. [This was his precise expression.] 'Now,' continued Mr. Seward, 'while I approve the measure, I suggest, sir, that you postpone its issue until you can give it to the country supported by military success, instead of issuing it, as would be the case now, upon the greatest disasters of the war.'" Mr. Lincoln continued: "The wisdom of the view of the Secretary of State struck me with very great force. It was an aspect of the case that, in all my thought upon the subject, I had entirely overlooked. The result was that I put the draft of the proclamation aside, as you do your sketch for a picture, waiting for a victory.

"From time to time I added or changed a line, touching it up here and there, anxiously watching the progress of events. Well, the next news we had was of Pope's disaster at Bull Run. Things looked darker than ever. Finally came the week of the battle of Antietam. I determined to wait no longer. The news came, I think, on Wednesday, that the advantage was on our side. I was then staying at the Soldier's Home [three miles out of Washington]. Here I finished writing the second draft of the preliminary proclamation; came up on Sunday; called the Cabinet together to hear it and it was published on the following Monday."

Note to Secretary Stanton

Executive Mansion, February 8, 1864.

My dear Sir: I saw Doolittle and made your views known to him. He is altogether tractable on the question and thinks there is no danger of precipitate action.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

*Telegram to General D. E. Sickles

War Department, February 10, 1864.

Major-General Sickles, New York: Please come on at your earliest convenience, prepared to make the contemplated trip for me.

A. Lincoln.

Letter to Secretary Stanton

Executive Mansion, February 11, 1864.

My dear Sir: In January, 1863, the Provost-Marshal at St. Louis, having taken the control of a certain church from one set of men and given it to another I wrote General Curtis on the subject as follows:

"The United States Government must not, as by this order, undertake to run the churches. When an individual in a church or out of it becomes dangerous to the public interest, he must be checked; but the churches, as such, must take

care of themselves. It will not do for the United States to appoint trustees, supervisors, or other agents for the churches."

Some trouble remaining in this same case, I, on the twenty-second of December, 1863 in a letter to Mr. O. D. Filley, repeated the above language, and among other things added, "I have never interfered nor thought of interfering as to who shall or shall not preach in any church; nor have I knowingly or believingly tolerated any one else to so interfere by my authority. If any one is so interfering by color of my authority, I would like to have it specifically made known to me. . . . I will not have control of any church on any side."

After having made these declarations in good faith, and in writing, you can conceive of my embarrassment at now having brought to me what purports to be a formal order of the War Department, bearing date November 30, 1863, giving Bishop Ames control and possession of all the Methodist churches in certain Southern military departments, whose pastors have not been appointed by a loyal bishop or bishops, and ordering the military to aid him against any resistance which may be made to his taking such possession and control. What is to be done about it? Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

Letter to Secretary Chase

Executive Mansion, February 12, 1864.

My dear Sir: I have felt considerable anxiety concerning the Custom House at New York. Mr. Barney has suffered no abatement of my confidence in his honor and integrity; and yet I am convinced that he has ceased to be master of his position. A man by the name of Bailey, whom I am unconscious of ever having seen, or even having heard of except in this connection, expects to be, and even now assumes to be, collector *de facto,* while Mr. Barney remains nominally so. This Mr. Bailey, as I understand, having been summoned as a witness to testify before a committee of the House of Representatives which purposed investigating the affairs of the New York Custom House, took occasion to call on the chairman in advance, and to endeavor to smother the investigation, saying among other things, that whatever might be developed, the President would take no action, and the committee would thereby be placed unpleasantly. The public interest cannot fail to suffer in the hands of this unresponsible and unscrupulous man. I propose sending Mr. Barney minister to Portugal, as evidence of my continued confidence in him; and I further propose appointing——collector of the customs at New

York. I wrote the draft of this letter two weeks ago, but delayed sending it for a reason which I will state when I see you.

Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

INDORSEMENT ON THE MODIFYING ORDER RELATING TO METHODIST CHURCHES IN REBEL STATES, February 13, 1864

As you see within, the Secretary of War modifies his order so as to exempt Missouri from it. Kentucky was never within it; nor, as I learn from the Secretary was it ever intended for any more than a means of rallying the Methodist people in favor of the Union, in localities where the rebellion had disorganized and scattered them. Even in that view, I fear it is liable to some abuses, but it is not quite easy to withdraw it entirely and at once.

A. LINCOLN.

TELEGRAM TO HORACE MAYNARD

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, D. C., February 13, 1864.

Hon. Horace Maynard, Nashville, Tenn.:
Your letter of [the] second received. Of course Governor Johnson will proceed with reorganization as the exigencies of the case appear to him to require. I do not apprehend he will

think it necessary to deviate from my views to any ruinous extent. On one hasty reading I see no such deviation in his program, which you send. A. LINCOLN.

TELEGRAM TO GENERAL J. M. THAYER

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., February 15, 1864.

General Thayer, Fort Smith, Arkansas: Yours received. Whatever of conflict there is between the convention and me is accidental, not designed, I having acted in ignorance that the convention would act. I yield to the convention, and have so notified General Steele, who is master, and is to cut any knots which cannot be untied. Correspond with him.

A. LINCOLN.

NOTE TO SECRETARY CHASE

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., February 15, 1864.

My dear Sir: I have just called here to see you on the matter mentioned Saturday, and am pained to learn you are suffering too much to be out. I hope you will soon be relieved; meanwhile I have no uneasiness as to the thing to which I am alluding, as I shall do nothing in it until I shall [have] fully conferred with you.

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

Letter to General D. E. Sickles

Executive Mansion, February 15, 1864.

Major-General Sickles: I wish you to make a tour for me (principally for observation and information) by way of Cairo and New Orleans, and returning by the gulf and ocean.

All military and naval officers are to facilitate you with suitable transportation, and by conferring with you, and imparting, so far as they can, the information herein indicated; but you are not to command any of them. You will call at Memphis, Helena, Vicksburg, New Orleans, Pensacola, Key West, Charleston Harbor, and such intermediate points as you may think important.

Please ascertain at each place what is being done, if any thing, for reconstruction; how the amnesty proclamation works—if at all; what practical hitches, if any, there are about it; whether deserters come in from the enemy, what number has come in at each point since the amnesty, and whether the ratio of their arrival is any greater since than before the amnesty; what deserters report generally, and particularly whether, and to what extent, the amnesty is known within the rebel lines. Also learn what you can as to the colored people; how they get along as soldiers, as laborers in our service, on

leased plantations, and as hired laborers with their old masters, if there be such cases. Also learn what you can as to the colored people within the rebel lines. Also get any other information you may consider interesting, and from time to time, send me what you may deem important to be known here at once, and be ready to make a general report on your return.

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

MESSAGE TO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, February 16, 1864

To the House of Representatives of the United States: In answer to the resolution of the House of Representatives of the eighth instant, requesting information touching the arrest of the United States Consul-General to the British North American Provinces, and certain official communications respecting Canadian commerce, I transmit a report from the Secretary of State, and the documents by which it was accompanied. ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

MESSAGE TO CONGRESS, February 16, 1864

To the Senate and House of Representatives: I transmit to Congress a report from the Secretary of State with the accompanying papers relative to the claim on this government of the owners of the French ship *La Manche,* and

recommend an appropriation for the satisfaction of the claim pursuant to the award of the arbitrators. ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

* TELEGRAM TO GENERAL F. STEELE

EXECUTIVE MANSION, February 17, 1864.

Major-General Steele, Little Rock, Ark.: The day fixed by the convention for the election is probably the best, but you on the ground, and in consultation with gentlemen there, are to decide. I should have fixed no day for an election, presented no plan for reconstruction, had I know the convention was doing the same things. It is probably best that you merely assist the convention on their own plan, as to election day and all other matters. I have already written and telegraphed this half a dozen times.

A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO W. M. FISHBACK

WAR DEPARTMENT, February 17, 1864.

William M. Fishback, Little Rock, Ark.: When I fixed a plan for an election in Arkansas I did it in ignorance that your convention was doing the same work. Since I learned the latter fact I have been constantly trying to yield my plan to them. I have sent two letters to General Steele, and three or four despatches to you and others, saying that he, General Steele,

must be master, but that it will probably be best for him to merely help the convention on its own plan. Some single mind must be master, else there will be no agreement in anything, and General Steele, commanding the military and being on the ground, is the best man to be that master. Even now citizens are telegraphing me to postpone the election to a later day than either that fixed by the convention or by me. This discord must be silenced. A. LINCOLN.

DRAFT OF LETTER TO GOVERNOR ANDREW

EXECUTIVE MANSION, February 18, 1864.

John A. Andrew, Governor of Massachusetts:
Yours of the 12th was received yesterday. If I were to judge from the letter, without any external knowledge, I should suppose that all the colored people south of Washington were struggling to get to Massachusetts; that Massachusetts was anxious to receive and retain the whole of them as permanent citizens, and that the United States Government here was interposing and preventing this. But I suppose these are neither really the facts nor meant to be asserted as true by you. Coming down to what I suppose to be the real facts, you are engaged in trying to raise colored troops for the United States, and wish to take recruits from Virginia through Washington to Massachusetts

for that object, and the loyal governor of Virginia, also trying to raise troops for us, objects to your taking his material away, while we, having to care for all and being responsible alike to all, have to do as much for him as we would have to do for you if he was by our authority taking men from Massachusetts to fill up Virginia regiments. No more than this has been intended by me, nor, as I think, by the Secretary of War. There may have been some abuses of this, as a rule, which, if known should be prevented in future. If, however, it be really true that Massachusetts wishes to afford a permanent home within her borders for all or even a large number of colored persons who will come to her, I shall be only too glad to know it. It would give relief in a very difficult point, and I would not for a moment hinder from going any person who is free by the terms of the proclamation, or any of the acts of Congress.

Proclamation Concerning Blockade, February 18, 1864

By the President of the United States of America:

A Proclamation.

WHEREAS, by my proclamation of the nineteenth of April, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-one, the ports of the States of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Florida, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas were, for reasons therein set forth, placed under blockade; and whereas, the port of Brownsville, in the district of Brazos Santiago, in the State of Texas, has since been blockaded, but as the blockade of said port may now be safely relaxed with advantage to the interests of commerce:

Now, therefore, be it known that I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, pursuant to the authority in me vested by the fifth section of the act of Congress approved on the 13th of July, 1861, entitled "An act further to provide for the collection of duties on imports, and for other purposes," do hereby declare that the blockade of the said port of Brownsville

shall so far cease and determine from and after this date, that commercial intercourse with said port, except as to persons, things, and information hereinafter specified, may, from this date, be carried on, subject to the laws of the United States, to the regulations prescribed by the Secretary of the Treasury, and, until the rebellion, shall have been suppressed, to such orders as may be promulgated by the general commanding the department, or by an officer duly authorized by him and commanding at said port. This proclamation does not authorize or allow the shipment or conveyance of persons in, or intending to enter, the service of the insurgents, or of things or information intended for their use, or for their aid or comfort, nor, except upon the permission of the Secretary of War, or of some officer duly authorized by him, of the following prohibited articles, namely: cannon, mortars, firearms, pistols, bombs, grenades, powder, saltpeter, sulphur, balls, bullets, pikes, swords, boarding-caps (always excepting the quantity of the said articles which may be necessary for the defense of the ship and those who compose the crew), saddles, bridles, cartridge-bag material, percussion and other caps, clothing adapted for uniforms, sail-cloth of all kinds, hemp and cordage, intoxicating drinks other than beer and light native wines.

To vessels clearing from foreign ports and destined to the port of Brownsville, opened by this proclamation, licenses will be granted by consuls of the United States upon satisfactory evidence that the vessel so licensed will convey no persons, property, or information excepted or prohibited above, either to or from the said port; which licenses shall be exhibited to the collector of said port immediately on arrival, and, if required, to any officer in charge of the blockade, and on leaving said port every vessel will be required to have a clearance from the collector of the customs, according to law, showing no violation of the conditions of the license. Any violations of said conditions will involve the forfeiture and condemnation of the vessel and cargo, and the exclusion of all parties concerned from any further privilege of entering the United States during the war for any purpose whatever.

In all respects, except as herein specified, the existing blockade remains in full force and effect as hitherto established and maintained, nor is it relaxed by this proclamation except in regard to the port to which relaxation is or has been expressly applied.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand, and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington, this eighteenth day of February, in the year of our Lord [L. S.] one thousand eight hundred and sixty-four, and of the independence of the United States the eighty-eighth.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

By the President: WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Secretary of State.

TELEGRAM TO WARREN JORDAN

NASHVILLE, February 20, 1864.

Hon. W. H. Seward: In county and State elections, must citizens of Tennessee take the oath prescribed by Governor Johnson, or will the President's oath of amnesty entitle them to vote? I have been appointed and hold the March election in Cheatham county, and wish to act understandingly.

WARREN JORDAN.

WASHINGTON, February 20, 1864.

Warren Jordan, Nashville: In county elections you had better stand by Governor Johnson's plan; otherwise you will have conflict and confusion. I have seen his plan.

A. LINCOLN.

NOTE TO SECRETARY CHASE

EXECUTIVE MANSION, February 20, 1864.

My dear Sir: Herewith I return the affidavit you handed me. In glancing over it once,

I do not perceive anything necessarily inconsistent with the practice of detectives and others engaged in the business of "rascal catching;" but a closer examination might show it. It seems to me that August, the month within which the affiant fixes his first interview with Hanscomb, was really before Hanscomb left Boston and came to New York.

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

MESSAGE TO CONGRESS, February 22, 1864

To the Senate and House of Representatives:

I submit to Congress the copy of a correspondence which has recently taken place between her Britannic Majesty's minister accredited to this government and the Secretary of State, in order that the expediency of sanctioning the acceptance, by the master of the American schooner *Highlander,* of a present of a watch which the lords of the committee of her Majesty's privy council for trade propose to present to him, in recognition of services tendered by him to the crew of the British vessel *Pearl,* may be taken into consideration.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

* TELEGRAM TO GENERAL F. STEELE

WAR DEPARTMENT, February 22, 1864.

Major-General Steele, Little Rock, Ark.:

Yours of yesterday received. Your conference

with citizens approved. Let the election be on the 14th of March as they agreed.

A. LINCOLN.

* TELEGRAM TO GENERAL W. S. ROSECRANS

WAR DEPARTMENT, February 22, 1864.

Major-General Rosecrans, Saint Louis, Mo.: Colonel Sanderson will be ordered to you to-day, a mere omission that it was not done before. The other questions in your despatch I am not yet prepared to answer. A. LINCOLN.

NOTE TO SECRETARY CHASE

EXECUTIVE MANSION, February 23, 1864.

My dear Sir: Yours of yesterday in relation to the paper issued by Senator Pomeroy was duly received; and I write this note merely to say I will answer a little more fully when I can find time to do so.

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO GENERAL F. STEELE

WAR DEPARTMENT, February 25, 1864.

Major-General Steele, Little Rock, Ark.: General Sickles is not going to Arkansas. He probably will make a tour down the Mississippi and home by the gulf and ocean, but he will not meddle in your affairs.

At one time I did intend to have him call on

you and explain more fully than I could do by letter or telegraph, so as to avoid a difficulty coming of my having made a plan here, while the convention made one there, for reorganizing Arkansas; but even his doing that has been given up for more than two weeks. Please show this to Governor Murphy to save me telegraphing him. A. LINCOLN.

NOTE TO GENERAL B. F. BUTLER, February 25, 1864

Major-General Butler, please see and hear Judge Pitts of Eastern Shore of Virginia. He wishes to do right, but meets some difficulty at a point which it is probable you can obviate.

A. LINCOLN.

* TELEGRAM TO GENERAL B. F. BUTLER

EXECUTIVE MANSION, February 26, 1864.

Major-General Butler, Fort Monroe, Va.: I cannot remember at whose request it was that I gave the pass to Mrs. Bulkly. Of course detain her, if the evidence of her being a spy is strong against her. A. LINCOLN.

* LETTER TO W. JAYNE

EXECUTIVE MANSION, February 26, 1864.

Dear Sir: I dislike to make changes in office as long as they can be avoided. It multi-

plies my embarrassments immensely. I dislike two appointments when one will do. Send me the name of some man not the present marshal, and I will nominate him to be Provost Marshal for Dakota.

Yours truly,
A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO E. H. EAST

WASHINGTON, February 27, 1864.

Hon. E. H. East, Secretary of State, Nashville, Tenn.: Your telegram of the twenty-sixth instant asking for a copy of my despatch to Warren Jordan, Esq., at "Nashville Press" office, has just been referred to me by Governor Johnson. In my reply to Mr. Jordan, which was brief and hurried, I intended to say that in the county and State elections of Tennessee, the oath prescribed in the proclamation of Governor Johnson on the twenty-sixth of January, 1864, ordering an election in Tennessee on the first Saturday in March next, is entirely satisfactory to me as a test of loyalty of all persons proposing or offering to vote in said elections; and coming from him would better be observed and followed. There is no conflict between the oath of amnesty in my proclamation of eighth December, 1863, and that prescribed by Governor Johnson in his proclamation of the twenty-sixth ultimo.

No person who has taken the oath of amnesty of eighth December, 1863, and obtained a pardon thereby, and who intends to observe the same in good faith, should have any objection to taking that prescribed by Governor Johnson as a test of loyalty. I have seen and examined Governor Johnson's proclamation, and am entirely satisfied with his plan, which is to restore the State government and place it under the control of citizens truly loyal to the Government of the United States. A. LINCOLN.

Please send above to Governor Johnson.

A. L.

LETTER TO SECRETARY STANTON

EXECUTIVE MANSION, February 27, 1864.

Sir: You ask some instructions from me in relation to the Report of Special Commission constituted by an order of the War Department, dated December 5, 1863, "to revise the enrolment and quotas of the City and State of New York, and report whether there be any, and what, errors or irregularities therein, and what corrections, if any, should be made?

In the correspondence between the governor of New York and myself last summer I understood him to complain that the enrolments in several of the districts of that State had been neither accurately nor honestly made; and in

view of this, I, for the draft then immediately ensuing, ordered an arbitrary reduction of the quotas in several of the districts wherein they seemed too large, and said: "After this drawing, these four districts, and also the seventeenth and twenty-ninth, shall be carefully reënrolled, and, if you please, agents of yours may witness every step of the process." In a subsequent letter I believe some additional districts were put into the list of those to be reënrolled. My idea was to do the work over according to the law, in the presence of the complaining party, and thereby to correct anything which might be found amiss. The commission, whose work I am considering, seem to have proceeded upon a totally different idea. Not going forth to find men at all, they have proceeded altogether upon paper examinations and mental processes. One of their conclusions, as I understand, is that, as the law stands, and attempting to follow it, the enrolling officers could not have made the enrolments much more accurately than they did. The report on this point might be useful to Congress. The commission conclude that the quotas for the draft should be based upon entire population, and they proceed upon this basis to give a table for the State of New York, in which some districts are reduced and some increased. For the now ensuing draft, let the quotas stand

as made by the enrolling officers, in the districts wherein this table requires them to be increased; and let them be reduced according to the table in the others; this to be no precedent for subsequent action. But, as I think this report may, on full consideration, be shown to have much that is valuable in it, I suggest that such consideration be given it, and that it be especially considered whether its suggestions can be conformed to without an alteration of the law.

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

TELEGRAM TO GENERAL J. W. DAVIDSON

WASHINGTON, February 27, 1864.

General Davidson, Cairo: Whether you shall come to Washington I must submit to the general-in-chief. A. LINCOLN.

TELEGRAM TO GENERAL THOMAS

WAR DEPARTMENT, February 28, 1864.

General L. Thomas, Louisville, Ken.: I see your despatch of yesterday to the Secretary of War.

I wish you would go to the Mississippi River at once, and take hold of and be master in the contraband and leasing business. You understand it better than any other man does. Mr. Miller's system doubtless is well intended, but from what I hear I fear that, if persisted in, it

would fall dead within its own entangling details. Go there and be the judge. A Mr. Lewis will probably follow you with something from me on this subject, but do not wait for him. Nor is this to induce you to violate or neglect any military order from the general-in-chief or Secretary of War. A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO SECRETARY CHASE

EXECUTIVE MANSION, February 29, 1864.

My dear Sir: I would have taken time to answer yours of the 22d sooner, only that I did not suppose any evil could result from the delay, especially as, by a note, I promptly acknowledged the receipt of yours, and promised a fuller answer. Now, on consideration, I find there is really very little to say. My knowledge of Mr. Pomeroy's letter having been made public came to me only the day you wrote but I had, in spite of myself, known of its existence several days before. I have not yet read it, and I think I shall not. I was not shocked or surprised by the appearance of the letter, because I had had knowledge of Mr. Pomeroy's committee, and of secret issues which I supposed came from it, and of secret agents who I supposed were sent out by it, for several weeks. I have known just as little of these things as my friends have allowed me to know. They bring

the documents to me, but I do not read them; they tell me what they think fit to tell me, but I do not inquire for more. I fully concur with you that neither of us can be justly held responsible for what our respective friends may do without our instigation or countenance; and I assure you, as you have assured me, that no assault has been made upon you by my instigation or with my countenance. Whether you shall remain at the head of the Treasury Department is a question which I will not allow myself to consider from any standpoint other than my judgment of the public service, and, in that view, I do not perceive occasion for a change.

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

MESSAGE TO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, February 29, 1864

To the House of Representatives: In answer to the resolution of the House of Representatives of the 26th instant, I transmit herewith a report from the Secretary of War relative to the reënlistment of veteran volunteers.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

LETTER TO GENERAL THOMAS

EXECUTIVE MANSION, March 1, 1864.

General L. Thomas: This introduces Mr. Lewis, mentioned in my despatch sent you at

Louisville some days ago. I have but little personal acquaintance with him; but he has the confidence of several members of Congress here who seem to know him well. He hopes to be useful, without charge to the government, in facilitating the introduction of the free-labor system on the Mississippi plantations. He is acquainted with, and has access to, many of the planters who wish to adopt the system. He will show you two letters of mine on this subject, one somewhat general, and the other relating to named persons. They are not different in principle. He will also show you some suggestions coming from some of the planters themselves. I desire that all I promise in these letters, so far as practicable, may be in good faith carried out, and that suggestions from the planters may be heard and adopted, so far as they may not contravene the principles stated, nor justice, nor fairness, to laborers. I do not herein intend to overrule your own mature judgment on any point.

Yours truly,
A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO SECRETARY STANTON

EXECUTIVE MANSION, March 1, 1864.

My dear Sir: A poor widow, by the name of Baird, has a son in the army, that for some offense has been sentenced to serve a long time

without pay, or at most with very little pay. I do not like this punishment of withholding pay —it falls so very hard upon poor families. After he had been serving in this way for several months, at the tearful appeal of the poor mother, I made a direction that he be allowed to enlist for a new term, on the same conditions as others. She now comes, and says she cannot get it acted upon. Please do it.

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO SECRETARY STANTON

EXECUTIVE MANSION, March 2, 1864.

Dear Sir: The President has received the telegram of the governor of Illinois to the Secretary of War giving notice of an insurrection in Edgar County, in that State, and which you have referred to him for instructions. He directs me to request that you will please consult the general-in-chief, and comply with the request of Governor Yates, if that shall be the most expeditious and feasible plan.

Your obedient servant,
JNO. G. NICOLAY, Private Secretary.

* PASS FOR MRS. RUMSEY

EXECUTIVE MANSION, March 2, 1864.

Officer in Command, Knoxville, Tenn.: Allow Mrs. Anne Maria Rumsey, with her six

daughters, to go to her father, Judge Breck, at Richmond, Ky. A. LINCOLN.

* TELEGRAM TO GENERAL F. STEELE

WAR DEPARTMENT, March 3, 1864.

Major-General Steele, Little Rock, Ark.: Yours including address to people of Arkansas is received. I approve the address and thank you for it. Yours in relation to Willard M. Randolph also received. Let him take the oath of December 8, and go to work for the new constitution, and on your notifying me of it, I will immediately issue the special pardon for him.

A. LINCOLN.

* TELEGRAM TO GENERAL B. F. BUTLER

EXECUTIVE MANSION, March 4, 1864.

Major-General Butler, Fort Monroe, Va.: Admiral Dahlgren is here, and of course is very anxious about his son. Please send me at once all you know or can learn of his fate.

A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO SECRETARY CHASE

EXECUTIVE MANSION, March 4, 1864.

My dear Sir: In consequence of a call Mr. Villard makes on me, having a note from you to him, I am induced to say I have no wish for the publication of the correspondence between

yourself and me in relation to the Pomeroy circular—in fact rather prefer to avoid an unnecessary exhibition—yet you are at liberty, without in the least offending me, to allow the publication if you choose. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

MEMORANDUM ABOUT CHURCHES, March 4, 1864

I have written before, and now repeat, the United States Government must not undertake to run the churches. When an individual in a church or out of it becomes dangerous to the public interest he must be checked, but the churches as such must take care of themselves. It will not do for the United States to appoint trustees, supervisors, or other agents for the churches. I add if the military have miltary need of the church building, let them keep it; otherwise let them get out of it, and leave it and its owners alone except for causes that justify the arrest of any one.

A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO JOHN A. J. CRESWELL

EXECUTIVE MANSION, March 7, 1864.

My dear Sir: I am very anxious for emancipation to be effected in Maryland in some substantial form. I think it probable that my ex-

pressions of a preference for gradual over immediate emancipation, are misunderstood. I had thought the gradual would produce less confusion and destitution, and therefore would be more satisfactory; but if those who are better acquainted with the subject, and are more deeply interested in it, prefer the immediate, most certainly I have no objection to their judgment prevailing. My wish is that all who are for emancipation in any form, shall coöperate, all treating all respectfully, and all adopting and acting upon the major opinion when fairly ascertained. What I have dreaded is the danger that by jealousies, rivalries, and consequent ill-blood—driving one another out of meetings and conventions—perchance from the polls—the friends of emancipation themselves may divide, and lose the measure altogether. I wish this letter to not be made public; but no man representing me as I herein represent myself will be in any danger of contradiction by me.

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

TELEGRAM TO GENERAL B. F. BUTLER

EXECUTIVE MANSION, March 7, 1864.

Major-General Butler, Fort Monroe: General Meade has Richmond "Sentinel," saying that Colonel Dahlgren was killed and ninety of his men captured at King and Queen Court

House. When did Kilpatrick's informant last see Colonel Dahlgren? A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO SECRETARY STANTON

EXECUTIVE MANSION, March 7, 1864.

My dear Sir: It is represented to me that General David B. Birney, who is nominated for a major-general to take rank from June 22, 1863, is really entitled, if at all, to take rank from May 3, 1863, for meritorious conduct at Chancellorsville. It is also represented that to make the desired change will not give General Birney rank over any one who now ranks him. I shall be glad to withdraw his present nomination and make the change, if the above is a true and a full statement of the facts.

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

MESSAGE TO THE SENATE, March 9, 1864

To the Senate of the United States: In compliance with the resolution of the Senate, of the first instant, respecting the points of commencement of the Union Pacific Railroad on the one hundredth degree of west longitude, and of the branch road from the western boundary of Iowa to the said one hundredth degree of longitude, I transmit the accompanying report from the Secretary of the Interior, containing the information called for.

I deem it proper to add, that on the seventeenth day of November last an executive order was made upon this subject and delivered to the vice-president of the Union Pacific Railroad Company, which fixed the point on the western boundary of the State of Iowa, from which the company should construct their branch road to the one hundredth degree of west longitude, and declared it to be within the limits of the township, in Iowa, opposite the town of Omaha, in Nebraska. Since then the company has represented to me that, upon actual surveys made, it has determined upon the precise point of departure of their said branch road from the Missouri River, and located the same as described in the accompanying report of the Secretary of the Interior, which point is within the limits designated in the order of November last; and in as much as that order is not of record in any of the executive departments, and the company having desired a more definite one, I have made the order of which a copy is herewith [transmitted] and caused the same to be filed in the Department of the Interior.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

ADDRESS TO GENERAL GRANT, March 9, 1864

General Grant: The nation's appreciation of what you have done, and its reliance upon you

for what remains to do, in the existing great struggle, are now presented with this commission, constituting you lieutenant-general in the Army of the United States.

With this high honor devolves upon you also a corresponding responsibility. As the country herein trusts you, so, under God, it will sustain you. I scarcely need add, that with what I here speak for the nation, goes my own hearty personal concurrence.

General Grant's Response.

Mr. President: I accept this commission, with gratitude for the high honor conferred.

With the aid of the noble armies that have fought on so many fields for our common country, it will be my earnest endeavor not to disappoint your expectations.

I feel the full weight of the responsibilities now devolving on me, and I know that if they are met, it will be due to those armies, and, above all, to the favor of that Providence which leads both nations and men.

*Telegram to General G. G. Meade

Executive Mansion, March 9, 1864.

Major-General Meade, Army of Potomac: New York City votes 9,500 majority for allowing soldiers to vote, and the rest of the State nearly all on the same side. Tell the soldiers.

A. Lincoln.

Order assigning U. S. Grant to the Command of the Armies of the United States

Executive Mansion, March 10, 1864.

Under the authority of an act of Congress to revive the grade of lieutenant-general in the United States Army, approved February 29, 1864, Lieutenant-General Ulysses S. Grant, United States Army, is assigned to the command of the Armies of the United States.

Abraham Lincoln.

Memorandum, March 10, 1864

I think the Amsterdam projectile is too good a thing to be lost to the service, and if offered at the Hotchkiss prices, and not in excessive quantities, nor unreasonable terms in other respects, by either or both parties to the patent controversy, take it, so that the test be fully made. I am for the government having the best articles in spite of patent controversies.

A. Lincoln.

Letter to General W. S. Rosecrans

Executive Mansion, March 10, 1864.

Major-General Rosecrans: Please carefully examine and consider the question whether, on the whole, it would be advantageous to our mili-

tary operations for the United States to furnish iron for completing the southwest branch of the Pacific Railroad, all or any part of the way from Rolla to Springfield, Missouri, so fast as the company shall do all the other work for the completion, and to receive pay for said iron in transportation upon said newly made part of said road; and if your opinion shall be in the affirmative, make a contract with the company to that effect, subject to my approval or rejection. In any event, report the main facts, together with your reasoning, to me. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

NOTE TO GENERAL U. S. GRANT

EXECUTIVE MANSION, March 10, 1864.

Lieutenant-General Grant, Army of the Potomac: Mrs. Lincoln invites yourself and General Meade to dine with us Saturday evening. Please notify him, and answer whether you can be with us at that time. A. LINCOLN.

MESSAGE TO THE SENATE, March 12, 1864

To the Senate of the United States: In obedience to the resolution of the Senate of the 28th of January last, I communicate herewith a report, with accompanying papers from the Secretary of the Interior, showing what portion of the appropriations for the colonization of per-

sons of African descent has been expended, and the several steps which have been taken for the execution of the acts of Congress on that subject.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

NOTE TO GENERAL B. F. BUTLER

WASHINGTON, D. C., March 12, 1864.

Major-General Butler, Fort Monroe, Virginia: If Miss Gaston and Miss Manly still refuse to take the oath let them return South.

A. LINCOLN.

TELEGRAM TO GOVERNOR MURPHY

WASHINGTON, D. C., March 12, 1864.

Governor Murphy, Little Rock, Ark.: I am not appointing officers for Arkansas now, and I will try to remember your request. Do your best to get out the largest vote possible, and of course as much of it as possible on the right side.

A. LINCOLN.

TELEGRAM TO W. M. FISHBACK

WASHINGTON, D. C., March 12, 1864.

William Fishback, Fort Smith, Ark.: I know not that any change of departmental lines is likely to be made in Arkansas; but if done, it will be for purely military reasons, to which the good people there can have no just cause of objection. Get out the largest vote you can, and

the largest part of it on the right side that is possible. A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO M. P. GENTRY

EXECUTIVE MANSION, March 13, 1864.

My dear Sir: Yours by the hand of General Grant is received. Of course I have not forgotten you. General Grant is hereby authorized, in his discretion, to send you South; and it is rather my wish that he may find it not inconsistent with his view of the public interest to oblige you. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO GOVERNOR MICHAEL HAHN [1]

(*Private.*)

EXECUTIVE MANSION, March 13, 1864.

My dear Sir: I congratulate you on having fixed your name in history as the first free-State

[1] The caution with which Lincoln approached the subject of elective franchise is shown in this letter to Governor Hahn. It attests that the writer had no intention of forcing negro suffrage upon the rebel States, but rather left it to the people to decide, while certainly desiring it himself. The political reorganization of Louisiana was a difficult and protracted one. Finally, on Jan. 11, 1864, a proclamation announced an election for State officers to be held on Feb. 22. Upon that day 11,411 votes were cast for Governor of the State, of which Michael Hahn received 6,185. Hahn was inaugurated on March 4 in the presence of more than fifty thousand people and amid a scene of extraordinary enthusiasm.

governor of Louisiana. Now you are about to have a convention, which, among other things, will probably define the elective franchise. I barely suggest for your private consideration, whether some of the colored people may not be let in—as, for instance, the very intelligent, and especially those who have fought gallantly in our ranks. They would probably help, in some trying time to come, to keep the jewel of liberty within the family of freedom. But this is only a suggestion, not to the public, but to you alone.

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO GENERAL C. SCHURZ

(*Private.*)

WASHINGTON, March 13, 1864.

My dear Sir: Yours of February 29 reached me only four days ago; but the delay was of little consequence, because I found, on feeling around, I could not invite you here without a difficulty which at least would be unpleasant, and perhaps would be detrimental to the public service. Allow me to suggest that if you wish to remain in the military service, it is very dangerous for you to get temporarily out of it; because, with a major-general once out, it is next to impossible for even the President to get him in again. With my appreciation of your ability and correct principle, of course I would be very

glad to have your service for the country in the approaching political canvass; but I fear we cannot properly have it without separating you from the military. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

MESSAGE TO CONGRESS, March 14, 1864

To the Senate and House of Representatives: I transmit to Congress a copy of a treaty between the United States and Great Britain for the final settlement of the claims of the Hudson's Bay and Puget's Sound Agricultural Companies, concluded on the first of July last, the ratifications of which were exchanged in this city on the fifth instant, and recommend an appropriation to carry into effect the first, second, and third articles thereof. ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

MESSAGE TO CONGRESS, March 14, 1864

To the Senate and House of Representatives: On the twenty-fifth day of November, 1862, a convention for the mutual adjustment of claims pending between the United States and Ecuador was signed at Quito by the plenipotentiaries of the contracting parties. A copy is herewith inclosed. This convention, already ratified by this government, has been sent to Quito for the customary exchange of ratifications, which it is not doubted will be promptly effected. As the

stipulations of the instrument require that the commissioners, who are to be appointed pursuant to its provisions, shall meet at Guayaquil within ninety days after such exchange, it is desirable that the legislation necessary to give effect to the convention on the part of the United State should anticipate the usual course of proceeding.

I therefore invite the early attention of Congress to the subject. A. LINCLON.

*TELEGRAM TO GENERAL B. F. BUTLER

EXECUTIVE MANSION, March 14, 1864.

Major-General Butler, Fort Monroe, Va.: First lieutenant and adjutant of Sixth Wisconsin Volunteers, Edward P. Brooks, is a prisoner of war at Richmond, and if you can without difficulty, effect a special exchange for him, I shall be obliged. A. LINCOLN.

TELEGRAM TO GENERAL U. S. GRANT

(*Private.*)

EXECUTIVE MANSION, March 15, 1864.

Lieutenant-General Grant, Nashville, Tenn.: General McPherson having been assigned to the command of a department, could not General Frank Blair, without difficulty or detriment to the service, be assigned to command the corps he commanded a while last autumn? A. LINCOLN.

Pass for General D. E. Sickles

Executive Mansion, Washington, D. C.,
March 15, 1864.

Whom it may concern: Major-General Sickles is making a tour for me from here by way of Cairo, New Orleans, and returning by the gulf and ocean, and all land and naval officers and employees are directed to furnish reasonable transportation and other reasonable facilities to himself and personal staff not inconsistent with the public service.

Abraham Lincoln.

Indorsement, March 15, 1864

While I leave this case to the discretion of General Banks, my view is that the United States should not appoint trustees for, or in any way take charge of, any church as such. If the building is needed for military purposes, take it; if it is not so needed, let its church people have it, dealing with any disloyal people among them as you deal with other disloyal people

A. Lincoln.

Order to General Hahn

Executive Mansion, March 15, 1864.

Hon. Michael Hahn, Governor of Louisiana: Until further order, you are hereby invested

with the powers exercised hitherto by the military governor of Louisiana.

Yours truly, ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

TELEGRAM TO GOVERNOR MURPHY

WASHINGTON, D. C., March 16, 1864.

Governor Isaac Murphy, Little Rock, Ark.:
What of your election on the fourteenth?

A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO JOHN A. J. CRESWELL

EXECUTIVE MANSION, March 17, 1864.

My dear Sir: It needs not to be a secret that I wish success to emancipation in Maryland. It would aid much to end the rebellion. Hence it is a matter of national consequence, in which every national man may rightfully feel a deep interest. I sincerely hope the friends of the measure will allow no minor considerations to divide and distract them.

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

TELEGRAM TO GENERAL B. F. BUTLER

EXECUTIVE MANSION, March 17, 1864.

Major-General Butler, Fort Monroe, Va.:
If you obtain the remains of Colonel Dahlgren, please notify me instantly, so that I can let his afflicted relatives know.

A. LINCOLN.

Draft of Letter to Secretary Stanton [1]

Executive Mansion, March 18, 1864.

MY DEAR SIR: I am so pressed in regard to prisoners of war in our custody, whose homes are within our lines, and who wish to not be exchanged, but to take the oath and be discharged, that I hope you will pardon me for again calling up the subject. My impression is that we will not ever force the exchange of any of this class; that, taking the oath and being discharged, none of them will again go to the rebellion; but the rebellion again coming to them, a considerable percentage of them, probably not a majority, would rejoin it; that, by a cautious discrimination, the number so discharged would not be large enough to do any considerable mischief in any event, will relieve distress in at least some meritorious cases, and would give me some relief from an intolerable pressure. I shall be glad, therefore, to have your cheerful assent to the discharge of those whose names I may send, which I will only do with circumspection.

[1] Only the first paragraph of this was actually sent. The President's leniency was constantly in conflict with army discipline.

In using the strong hand, as now compelled to do, the government has a difficult duty to perform. At the very best it will by turns do both too little and too much. It can properly have no motive of revenge, no purpose to punish merely for punishment's sake. While we must by all available means prevent the overthrow of the government, we should avoid planting and cultivating too many thorns in the bosom of society. These general remarks apply to several classes of cases, on each of which I wish to say a word.

First. The dismissal of officers when neither incompetency, nor intentional wrong, nor real injury to the service, is imputed. In such cases it is both cruel and impolitic to crush the man and make him and his friends permanent enemies to the administration if not to the government itself. I think of two instances: one wherein a surgeon, for the benefit of patients in his charge, needed some lumber, and could only get it by making a false certificate wherein the lumber was denominated "butter and eggs," and he was dismissed for the false certificate; the other a surgeon by the name of Owen, who served from the beginning of the war till recently with two servants, and without objection, when upon discovery that the servants were his own sons he was dismissed.

Another class consists of those who are known or strongly suspected to be in sympathy with the rebellion. An instance of this is the family of Southern, who killed a recruiting officer last autumn in Maryland. He fled, and his family are driven from their home without a shelter or crumb, except when got by burdening our friends more than our enemies. Southern had no justification to kill the officer, and yet he would not have been killed if he had proceeded in the temper and manner agreed upon by yourself and Governor Bradford; but this is past. What is to be done with the family? Why can they not occupy the old home and excite much less opposition to the government than the manifestation of their distress is now doing? If the house is really needed for the public service, or if it has been regularly confiscated and the title transferred, the case is different.

Again, the cases of persons, mostly women, wishing to pass our lines one way or the other. We have in some cases been apparently if not really, inconsistent upon this subject—that is, we have forced some to go who wished to stay, and forced others to stay who wished to go. Suppose we allow all females with ungrown children of either sex to go South, if they desire, upon absolute prohibition against returning during the war; and all to come North upon the

same condition of not returning during the war, and the additional condition of taking the oath.

I wish to mention two special cases, both of which you well remember. The first is that of Yocum. He was unquestionably guilty. No one asking for his pardon pretends the contrary. What he did, however, was perfectly lawful only a short while before, and the change making it unlawful had not, even then, been fully accepted in the public mind. It is doubtful whether Yocum did not suppose it was really lawful to return a slave to a loyal owner, though it is certain he did the thing secretly, in the belief that his superiors would not allow it if known to them. But the great point with me is that the severe punishment of five years at hard labor in the penitentiary is not at all necessary to prevent the repetition of the crime by himself or by others. If the offense was one of frequent recurrence, the case would be different; but the case of Yocum is the single instance which has come to my knowledge. I think that for all public purposes, and for all proper purposes, he has suffered enough.

The case of Smithson is troublesome. His wife and children are quartered mostly on our friends, and exciting a great deal of sympathy, which will soon tell against us. What think you of sending him and his family South, holding

the sentence over him to be reënforced if he return during the war?

Remarks on closing a Sanitary Fair in Washington, March 18, 1864

Ladies and Gentlemen: I appear to say but a word. This extraordinary war in which we are engaged falls heavily upon all classes of people, but the most heavily upon the soldier. For it has been said, all that a man hath will he give for his life; and while all contribute of their substance, the soldier puts his life at stake, and often yields it up in his country's cause. The highest merit, then, is due to the soldier.

In this extraordinary war, extraordinary developments have manifested themselves, such as have not been seen in former wars; and amongst these manifestations nothing has been more remarkable than these fairs for the relief of suffering soldiers and their families. And the chief agents in these fairs are the women of America.

I am not accustomed to the use of language of eulogy; I have never studied the art of paying compliments to women; but I must say, that if all that has been said by orators and poets since the creation of the world in praise of women were applied to the women of America, it would not do them justice for their conduct during

this war. I will close by saying, God bless the women of America.

Letter to General B. F. Butler

Executive Mansion, March 18, 1864.

Major-General Butler, Fort Monroe: Edward P. Brooks, first lieutenant, Sixth Wisconsin, is a prisoner of war at Richmond. I desire that if practicable, his special release be effected for a rebel prisoner of same rank. Have you one to send, and can you arrange for it at once?

A. Lincoln.

Telegram to Governor Murphy

Washington, D. C., March 18, 1864.

Governor Murphy, Little Rock, Arkansas: Yours of yesterday received and thanks for it. Send further returns when you receive them. Will do my best to protect people and new State government, but can act with no better intentions than have always done. Tell General Steele I have Randolph's pardon, and will send by mail if he says so. A. Lincoln.

Telegram to General B. F. Butler

Executive Mansion, March 19, 1864.

Major-General Butler, Fort Monroe, Va.: Please find a captain among the rebel prisoners in your charge, and exchange for Captain T.

Ten Eyck, of Eighteenth United States Infantry, now a prisoner at Richmond.

A. LINCOLN.

REPLY TO A COMMITTEE FROM THE WORKINGMEN'S ASSOCIATION OF NEW YORK, March 21, 1864

Gentlemen of the Committee: The honorary membership in your association, as generously tendered, is gratefully accepted.

You comprehend, as your address shows, that the existing rebellion means more, and tends to more, than the perpetuation of African slavery —that it is, in fact, a war upon the rights of all working people. Partly to show that this view has not escaped my attention, and partly that I cannot better express myself, I read a passage from the message to Congress in December, 1861:

> It continues to develop that the insurrection is largely, if not exclusively, a war upon the first principle of popular government — the rights of the people. Conclusive evidence of this is found in the most grave and maturely considered public documents, as well as in the general tone of the insurgents. In those documents we find the abridgment of the existing right of suffrage, and the denial to the people of all right to participate in the selection of public officers, except the legislative, boldly advocated, with labored

arguments to prove that large control of the people in government is the source of all political evil. Monarchy itself is sometimes hinted at as a possible refuge from the power of the people.

In my present position I could scarcely be justified were I to omit raising a warning voice against this approach of returning despotism.

It is not needed, nor fitting here, that a general argument should be made in favor of popular institutions; but there is one point, with its connections, not so hackneyed as most others, to which I ask a brief attention. It is the effort to place *capital* on an equal footing with, if not above, *labor,* in the structure of the government. It is assumed that labor is available only in connection with capital; that nobody labors unless somebody else, owning capital, somehow by the use of it induces him to labor. This assumed, it is next considered whether it is best that capital shall *hire* laborers, and thus induce them to work by their own consent, or *buy* them, and drive them to it without their consent. Having proceeded so far, it is naturally concluded that all laborers are either *hired* laborers, or what we call slaves. And, further, it is assumed that whoever is once a hired laborer, is fixed in that condition for life.

Now, there is no such relation between capital and labor as assumed; nor is there any such thing as a free man being fixed for life in the condition of a hired laborer. Both these assumptions are false, and all inferences from them are groundless.

Labor is prior to, and independent of, capital.

Capital is only the fruit of labor, and could never have existed if labor had not first existed. Labor is the superior of capital, and deserves much the higher consideration. Capital has its rights, which are as worthy of protection as any other rights. Nor is it denied that there is, and probably always will be, a relation between capital and labor producing mutual benefits. The error is in assuming that the whole labor of community exists within that relation. A few men own capital, and that few avoid labor themselves, and, with their capital, hire or buy another few to labor for them. A large majority belong to neither class — neither work for others, nor have others working for them. In most of the Southern States, a majority of the whole people, of all colors, are neither slaves nor masters; while in the Northern, a large majority are neither hirers nor hired. Men with their families — wives, sons, and daughters — work for themselves, on their farms, in their houses, and in their shops, taking the whole product to themselves, and asking no favors of capital on the one hand, nor of hired laborers or slaves on the other. It is not forgotten that a considerable number of persons mingle their own labor with capital; that is, they labor with their own hands, and also buy or hire others to labor for them, but this is only a mixed and not a distinct class. No principle stated is disturbed by the existence of this mixed class.

Again, as has already been said, there is not, of necessity, any such thing as the free hired laborer being fixed to that condition for life. Many indepen-

dent men everywhere in these States, a few years back in their lives, were hired laborers. The prudent penniless beginner in the world labors for wages a while, saves a surplus with which to buy tools or land for himself, then labors on his own account another while, and at length hires another new beginner to help him. This is the just and generous and prosperous system which opens the way to all — gives hope to all, and consequent energy and progress, and improvement of condition to all. No men living are more worthy to be trusted than those who toil up from poverty — none less inclined to take or touch aught which they have not honestly earned. Let them beware of surrendering a political power which they already possess, and which, if surrendered, will surely be used to close the door of advancement against such as they, and to fix new disabilities and burdens upon them, till all of liberty shall be lost.

The views then expressed now remain unchanged, nor have I much to add. None are so deeply interested to resist the present rebellion as the working people. Let them beware of prejudices, working division and hostility among themselves. The most notable feature of a disturbance in your city last summer was the hanging of some working people by other working people. It should never be so. The strongest bond of human sympathy, outside of the family relation, should be one uniting all working people, of all nations, and tongues, and kindreds.

Nor should this lead to a war upon property, or the owners of property. Property is the fruit of labor; property is desirable; is a positive good in the world. That some should be rich shows that others may become rich, and hence is just encouragement to industry and enterprise. Let not him who is houseless pull down the house of another, but let him work diligently and build one for himself, thus by example assuring that his own shall be safe from violence when built.

* TELEGRAM TO GENERAL B. F. BUTLER

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, D. C.,
March 22, 1864.

Major-General Butler, Fort Monroe, Va.: Hon. W. R. Morrison says he has requested you by letter to effect a special exchange of Lieut. Col. A. F. Rogers, of Eightieth Illinois Volunteers, now in Libby Prison, and I shall be glad if you can effect it.

A. LINCOLN.

* TELEGRAM TO GOVERNOR JOHN EVANS

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, D. C.,
March 22, 1864.

Governor Evans, Denver, Col.: Colorado Enabling Act was signed yesterday by the President.

JNO. G. NICOLAY.

Correspondence with General C. Schurz

Schurz

(*Private.*)

Washington, March 13, 1864.

My dear Sir: Yours of February 29 reached me only four days ago; but the delay was of little consequence, because I found, on feeling around, I could not invite you here without a difficulty which at least would be unpleasant, and perhaps would be detrimental to the public service. Allow me to suggest that if you wish to remain in the military service, it is very dangerous for you to get temporarily out of it; because, with a major-general once out, it is next to impossible for even the President to get him in again. With my appreciation of your ability and correct principle, of course I would be very glad to have your service for the country in the approaching political canvass; but I fear we cannot properly have it without separating you from the military. Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion, March 23, 1864.

My dear Sir: The letter, of which the above is a copy, was sent to you before Mr. Willman saw me, and now yours of the 19th tells me you did not rceive it. I do not wish to be more specific about the difficulty of your coming to Washington. I think you can easily conjecture it.

I perceive no objection to your making a po-

litical speech when you are where one is to be made; but quite surely speaking in the North and fighting in the South at the same time are not possible; nor could I be justified to detail any officer to the political campaign during its continuance and then return him to the army.

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO THURLOW WEED

EXECUTIVE MANSION, March 25, 1864.

My dear Sir: I have been both pained and surprised recently at learning that you are wounded because a suggestion of yours as to the mode of conducting our national difficulty has not been followed—pained because I very much wish you to have no unpleasant feeling proceeding from me, and surprised, because my impression is that I have seen you since the last message issued, apparently feeling very cheerful and happy. How is this? Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO B. B. FRENCH

(*Private.*)

EXECUTIVE MANSION, March 25, 1864.

My dear Sir: I understand a bill is before Congress by your instigation, for taking your office from the control of the Department of the Interior, and considerably enlarging the pow-

ers and patronage of your office. The proposed change may be right for aught I know, and it certainly is right for Congress to do as it thinks proper in the case. What I wish to say is, that if the change is made, I do not think I can allow you to retain the office; because that would be encouraging officers to be constantly intriguing, to the detriment of the public interest, in order to profit themselves. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

Proclamation About Amnesty, March 26, 1864

By the President of the United States of America:

A Proclamation.

WHEREAS it has become necessary to define the cases in which insurgent enemies are entitled to the benefits of the proclamation of the President of the United States, which was made on the eighth day of December, 1863, and the manner in which they shall proceed to avail themselves of those benefits;

And whereas the objects of that proclamation were to suppress the insurrection and to restore the authority of the United States; and whereas the amnesty therein proposed by the President was offered with reference to these objects alone:

Now, therefore, I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim and declare that the said proclamation does not apply to the class of persons who, at the time when they seek to obtain the benefits thereof by taking the oath thereby prescribed, are in military, naval, or civil confinement or

custody, or under bonds, or on parole of the civil, military, or naval authorities, or agents of the United States, as prisoners of war, or persons detained for offenses of any kind, either before or after conviction; and that, on the contrary, it does apply only to those persons who, being yet at large and free from any arrest, confinement, or duress, shall voluntarily come forward and take the said oath, with the purpose of restoring peace and establishing the national authority. Prisoners excluded from the amnesty offered in the said proclamation may apply to the President for clemency, like all other offenders, and their applications will receive due consideration.

I do further declare and proclaim that the oath presented in the aforesaid proclamation of the eighth of December, 1863, may be taken and subscribed before any commissioned officer, civil, military, or naval, in the service of the United States, or any civil or military officer of a State or Territory not in insurrection, who, by the laws thereof, may be qualified for administering oaths. All officers who receive such oaths are hereby authorized to give certificates thereon to the persons respectively by whom they are made, and such officers are hereby required to transmit the original records of such oaths at as early a day as may be convenient, to the De-

partment of State, where they will be deposited and remain in the archives of the government. The Secretary of State will keep a register thereof, and will, on application, in proper cases, issue certificates of such records in the customary form of official certificates.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand, and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington, the twenty-sixth day of March, in the year [L. S.] of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-four, and of the independence of the United States the eighty-eighth.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

By the President: WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Secretary of State.

LETTER TO SECRETARY STANTON

EXECUTIVE MANSION, March 28, 1864.

My dear Sir: The governor of Kentucky is here, and desires to have the following points definitely fixed:

First. That the quotas of troops furnished, and to be furnished, by Kentucky may be adjusted upon the basis as actually reduced by able-bodied men of hers having gone into the rebel service; and that she be required to fur-

nish no more than her just quotas upon fair adjustment upon such basis.

Second. To whatever extent the enlistment and drafting, one or both, of colored troops may be found necessary within the State, it may be conducted within the law of Congress; and, so far as practicable, free from collateral embarrassments, disorders, and provocations.

I think these requests of the governor are reasonable; and I shall be obliged if you will give him a full hearing, and do the best you can to effect these objects.

Yours very truly, A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO GENERAL G. G. MEADE

EXECUTIVE MANSION, March 29, 1864.

My dear Sir: Your letter to Colonel Townsend, inclosing a slip from the "Herald," and asking a court of inquiry, has been laid before me by the Secretary of War, with the request that I would consider it. It is quite natural that you should feel some sensibility on the subject; yet I am not impressed, nor do I think the country is impressed, with the belief that your honor demands, or the public interest demands, such an inquiry. The country knows that at all events you have done good service; and I believe it agrees with me that it is much better for you to be engaged in trying to do more, than to be

diverted, as you necessarily would be, by a court of inquiry. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

MESSAGE TO CONGRESS, March 29, 1864

To the Senate and House of Representatives: Mr. Charles B. Stuart, consulting engineer, appointed such by me upon invitation of the governor of New York, according to a law of that State, has made a report upon the proposed improvements to pass gunboats from tide-water to the northern and northwestern lakes, which report is herewith respectfully submitted for your consideration. ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

TELEGRAM TO GENERAL U. S. GRANT

EXECUTIVE MANSION, March 29, 1864.

Lieut.-General Grant, Army of the Potomac: Captain Kinney, of whom I spoke to you as desiring to go on your staff, is now in your camp, in company with Mrs. Senator Dixon. Mrs. Grant and I, and some others, agreed last night that I should, by this despatch, kindly call your attention to Captain Kinney. A. LINCOLN.

TELEGRAM TO GOVERNOR JOHNSON

EXECUTIVE MANSION, March 29, 1864.

Governor Johnson, Nashville, Tenn.: Judge Catron is asking for the discharge of W. M.

Bell, now at Rock Island, and whom he thinks was arrested as a hostage by you or by your authority. What say you? A. LINCOLN.

*TELEGRAM TO R. M. CORWINE

WAR DEPARTMENT, March 30, 1864.

Hon. R. M. Corwine, New York: It does not occur to me that you can present the Smith case any better than you have done. Of this, however, you must judge for yourself.

A. LINCOLN

LETTER TO GENERAL W. S. ROSECRANS [1]

EXECUTIVE MANSION, April 4, 1864.

My dear Sir: This is rather more social than official; containing suggestions rather than orders. I somewhat dread the effect of your Special Order No. 61, dated March 7, 1864. I have found that men who have not even been suspected of disloyalty are very averse to tak-

[1] The military administration of General Rosecrans in Missouri began in January, 1864, under favorable conditions, but although the violent dissensions of the year previous had abated, new difficulties were continually coming up. To quell disloyal influences the General issued an order commanding members of various religious denominations to take an oath of allegiance to the United States before transacting their business. It was resented. President Lincoln deprecated any restraint of this character unless absolutely necessary. Upon complaint he wrote the above mild admonition to Rosecrans.

ing an oath of any sort as a condition to exercising an ordinary right of citizenship. The point will probably be made that while men may, without an oath, assemble in a noisy political meeting, they must take the oath to assemble in a religious meeting. It is said, I know not whether truly, that in some parts of Missouri assassinations are systematically committed upon returned rebels who wish to ground arms and behave themselves. This should not be. Of course I have not heard that you give countenance to or wink at such assassinations. Again, it is complained that the enlistment of negroes is not conducted in as orderly a manner and with as little collateral provocation as it might be. So far you have got along in the Department of the Missouri rather better than I dared to hope, and I congratulate you and myself upon it. Yours very truly,

A. Lincoln.

Letter to A. W. Thompson

Executive Mansion, Washington, D. C.,
April 4, 1864.

Ambrose W. Thompson: Yours of yesterday is just received. The financial scheme you suggest I shall consider further, but I have not time to form a conclusion which would reach you by the 6th.

I shall be glad to hear from you in Europe as you suggest. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO A. G. HODGES

EXECUTIVE MANSION, April 4, 1864.

My dear Sir: You ask me to put in writing the substance of what I verbally said the other day in your presence, to Governor Bramlette and Senator Dixon. It was about as follows:

"I am naturally antislavery. If slavery is not wrong, nothing is wrong. I cannot remember when I did not so think and feel, and yet I have never understood that the presidency conferred upon me an unrestricted right to act officially upon this judgment and feeling. It was in the oath I took that I would, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States. I could not take the office without taking the oath. Nor was it my view that I might take an oath to get power, and break the oath in using the power. I understood, too, that in ordinary civil administration this oath even forbade me to practically indulge my primary abstract judgment on the moral question of slavery. I had publicly declared this many times, and in many ways. And I aver that, to this day, I have done no official act in mere deference to my abstract judgment

and feeling on slavery. I did understand, however, that my oath to preserve the Constitution to the best of my ability imposed upon me the duty of preserving, by every indispensable means, that government—that nation, of which that Constitution was the organic law. Was it possible to lose the nation and yet preserve the Constitution? By general law, life and limb must be protected, yet often a limb must be amputated to save a life; but a life is never wisely given to save a limb. I felt that measures otherwise unconstitutional might become lawful by becoming indispensable to the preservation of the Constitution through the preservation of the nation. Right or wrong, I assume this ground, and now avow it. I could not feel that, to the best of my ability, I had even tried to preserve the Constitution, if, to save slavery or any minor matter, I should permit the wreck of government, country, and Constitution all together. When, early in the war, General Frémont attempted military emancipation, I forbade it, because I did not then think it an indispensable necessity. When, a little later, General Cameron, then Secretary of War, suggested the arming of the blacks, I objected because I did not yet think it an indispensable necessity. When, still later, General Hunter attempted military emancipation, I again forbade it, be-

cause I did not yet think the indispensable necessity had come. When in March and May and July, 1862, I made earnest and successive appeals to the border States to favor compensated emancipation, I believed the indispensable necessity for military emancipation and arming the blacks would come unless averted by that measure. They declined the proposition, and I was, in my best judgment, driven to the alternative of either surrendering the Union, and with it the Constitution, or of laying strong hand upon the colored element. I chose the latter. In choosing it, I hoped for greater gain than loss; but of this, I was not entirely confident. More than a year of trial now shows no loss by it in our foreign relations, none in our home popular sentiment, none in our white military force—no loss by it anyhow or anywhere. On the contrary it shows a gain of quite a hundred and thirty thousand soldiers, seamen, and laborers. These are palpable facts, about which, as facts, there can be no caviling. We have the men; and we could not have had them without the measure.

"And now let any Union man who complains of the measure test himself by writing down in one line that he is for subduing the rebellion by force of arms; and in the next, that he is for taking these hundred and thirty thousand men

from the Union side, and placing them where they would be but for the measure he condemns. If he cannot face his case so stated, it is only because he cannot face the truth."

I add a word which was not in the verbal conversation. In telling this tale I attempt no compliment to my own sagacity. I claim not to have controlled events, but confess plainly that events have controlled me. Now, at the end of three years' struggle, the nation's condition is not what either party, or any man, devised or expected. God alone can claim it. Whither it is tending seems plain. If God now wills the removal of a great wrong, and wills also that we of the North, as well as you of the South, shall pay fairly for our complicity in that wrong, impartial history will find therein new cause to attest and revere the justice and goodness of God. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO MRS. HORACE MANN

EXECUTIVE MANSION, April 5, 1864.

Madam: The petition of persons under eighteen, praying that I would free all slave children, and the heading of which petition it appears you wrote, was handed me a few days since by Senator Sumner. Please tell these little people I am very glad their young hearts

are so full of just and generous sympathy, and that, while I have not the power to grant all they ask, I trust they will remember that God has, and that, as it seems, he wills to do it.

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

UNFINISHED DRAFT OF LETTER TO GENERAL N. P. BANKS

EXECUTIVE MANSION, April 5, 1864.

Major-General Banks: I have received a letter from General Charles P. Stone, indorsed by yourself, asking that "some act, some word, some order may issue from the executive which shall place my name clear of reproach," etc. Nothing more definite than this is indicated as to what General Stone desires me to do, or supposes I can do in the case. I can only state the facts of the case from memory, and of course not with great minuteness or accuracy. General Stone was arrested, as I now think, early in February, 1862. Owing to sickness in my family, the Secretary of War made the arrest without notifying me that he had it in contemplation. General McClellan was then general-in-chief, with headquarters at Washington, and General Stone was commanding a division twenty-five or thirty miles above on the Potomac. Learning of the arrest I inquired for the cause, and found it or the evidence constituting it to

consist of three classes: First, the evidence taken in writing by the Committee of Congress on the Conduct of the War. The point supposed to be made by this against General Stone was that when before the committee at one time and excusing himself for not having sent a force from one point to another during the battle in which Colonel Baker was killed, he stated that the enemy had a redoubt or dirt fort on the route which could not be passed. Afterward, the committee conceiving that General Stone could have prevented the erection of that fort, and ought to have done so, called him before them again to inquire why he did not, and he then denied that there ever had been a fort at that place. I did not think the evidence, as read to me, made the point conclusively against the general; but that evidence, whatever it is, I suppose is still accessible.

Secondly, evidence taken and put in the form of a report by a detective of General McClellan.

Telegram to Governor Brough

Executive Mansion, April 5, 1864.

Governor Brough, Columbus, O.: The President has ordered the pardon of the soldiers of the 12th Ohio, in accordance with your request.

John Hay.

*Telegram to General B. F. Butler

(*Cipher.*)

Executive Mansion, April 6, 1864.

Major-General Butler, Fortress Monroe, Va.: The President directs me to acknowledge receipt of your dispatch of this morning and to say that you will submit by letter or telegram to the Secretary of War the points in relation to the exchange of prisoners wherein you wish instructions, and that it is not necessary for you to visit Washington for the purpose indicated.

John Hay,
Major and Assistant Adjutant-General.

Telegram to Governor Dennison [1]

Executive Mansion, April 7, 1864.

Hon. Wm. Dennison, Columbus, O.: The President thinks he cannot safely write that class of letters. Jno. G. Nicolay.

Telegram to General B. F. Butler

Executive Mansion, April 7, 1864.

Major-General Butler: Mrs. Lincoln and I think we will visit Fort Monroe some time next week. Meanwhile, whatever is to be done on

[1] In answer to a request to give a cotton-trader a letter of recommendation to military and naval authorities, etc.— N. and H.

the business subject will be conducted through the War Department. Please do not make public our probable visit. A. LINCOLN.

*TELEGRAM TO GENERAL G. G. MEADE

EXECUTIVE MANSION, April 9, 1864.

Major-General Meade, Army of the Potomac: Suspend execution of Private William Collins, Company B, Sixty-ninth New York Volunteers, Irish Brigade, and class him with other suspended cases. A. LINCOLN.

MEMORANDUM FOR MRS. HUNT

EXECUTIVE MANSION, April 11, 1864.

Whom it may concern: I know nothing on the subject of the attached letter except as therein stated. Neither do I personally know Mrs. Hunt. She has, however, from the beginning of the war been constantly represented to me as an open, and somewhat influential, friend of the Union. It has been said to me (I know not whether truly) that her husband is in the rebel army; that she avows her purpose to not live with him again; and that she refused to see him when she had an opportunity during one of John Morgan's raids in Kentucky. I would not offer her, nor any wife, a temptation to a permanent separation from her husband; but if she shall avow that her mind is already inde-

pendently and fully made up to such separation, I shall be glad for the property sought by her letter to be delivered to her upon her taking the oath of December 8, 1863. A. LINCOLN.

MEMORANDUM FOR MRS. KEENAN

EXECUTIVE MANSION, April 11, 1864.

If Judge John C. Underwood will say in writing on this sheet that he personally knows Mrs. Keenan, and that he desires her and her little nephew to pass our lines and go to her father in Rockingham, Virginia, I will direct a pass to be given her accordingly.

A. LINCOLN.

TELEGRAMS TO GENERAL B. F. BUTLER

WASHINGTON, D. C., April 11, 1864.

Major-General Butler, Fort Monroe, Virginia: Mrs. Lincoln is so unwell that I now think we will not make the contemplated trip this week. Will notify you in time. Will probably get a boat here, but will accept yours if necessary. Thanks for your kind interest in the case. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, April 12, 1864.

Major-General Butler, Fort Monroe, Virginia: I am appealed to in behalf of Charles Crumblin [Crumpton] said to be under sen-

tence of death, to be executed at Norfolk tomorrow. Please ascertain whether there is any ground for a pardon, or even a respite, and answer me. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, April 13, 1864.

Major-General Butler, Fort Monroe, Virginia: Yours in regard to Charles Crumpton received. I have no more to say in the case.

A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO GENERAL L. THOMAS

EXECUTIVE MANSION, April 13, 1864.

General: The President directs me to acknowledge the receipt of your favor of the thirtieth March, and to state in reply that Mr. Lewis has no authorization from him for any such purpose as you mention. He gave to Mr. Lewis a letter introducing him to you, at the request of some very respectable gentlemen from Kentucky, and here his responsibility for Mr. Lewis terminated.

The President does not wish you to be hampered in the execution of your duties by any consideration of the letter given by himself to Mr. Lewis.

I have the honor to be, General, your obedient servant, JOHN HAY,

Major and A. A. G.

*Telegram to General G. G. Meade

Executive Mansion, April 17, 1864.

Major-General Meade, Army of Potomac: Private William Collins of Company B, of the Sixty-ninth New York Volunteers, has been convicted of desertion, and execution suspended as in numerous other cases. Now Captain O'Neill commanding the regiment, and nearly all its other regimental and company officers, petition for his full pardon and restoration to his company. Is there any good objection?

A. Lincoln.

Address at Sanitary Fair in Baltimore, April 18, 1864

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: Calling to mind that we are in Baltimore, we cannot fail to note that the world moves. Looking upon these many people assembled here to serve, as they best may, the soldiers of the Union, it occurs at once that three years ago the same soldiers could not so much as pass through Baltimore. The change from then till now is both great and gratifying. Blessings on the brave men who have wrought the change, and the fair women who strive to reward them for it!

But Baltimore suggests more than could happen within Baltimore. The change within Baltimore is part only of a far wider change. When the war began, three years ago, neither party, nor any man, expected it would last till now. Each looked for the end, in some way, long ere to-day. Neither did any anticipate that domestic slavery would be much affected by the war. But here we are; the war has not ended, and slavery has been much affected—how much needs not now to be recounted. So

true is it that man proposes and God disposes.

But we can see the past, though we may not claim to have directed it; and seeing it, in this case, we feel more hopeful and confident for the future.

The world has never had a good definition of the word liberty, and the American people, just now, are much in want of one. We all declare for liberty; but in using the same word we do not all mean the same thing. With some the word liberty may mean for each man to do as he pleases with himself, and the product of his labor; while with others the same word may mean for some men to do as they please with other men, and the product of other men's labor. Here are two, not only different, but incompatible things, called by the same name, liberty. And it follows that each of the things is, by the respective parties, called by two different and incompatible names—liberty and tyranny.

The shepherd drives the wolf from the sheep's throat, for which the sheep thanks the shepherd as his liberator, while the wolf denounces him for the same act, as the destroyer of liberty, especially as the sheep was a black one. Plainly, the sheep and the wolf are not agreed upon a definition of the word liberty; and precisely the same difference prevails to-day among us human creatures, even in the North, and all pro-

fessing to love liberty. Hence we behold the process by which thousands are daily passing from under the yoke of bondage hailed by some as the advance of liberty, and bewailed by others as the destruction of all liberty. Recently, as it seems, the people of Maryland have been doing something to define liberty, and thanks to them that, in what they have done, the wolf's dictionary has been repudiated.

It is not very becoming for one in my position to make speeches at great length; but there is another subject upon which I feel that I ought to say a word.

A painful rumor—true, I fear—has reached us of the massacre by the rebel forces at Fort Pillow, in the west end of Tennessee, on the Mississippi River, of some three hundred colored soldiers and white officers, who had just been overpowered by their assailants.[1] There seems to be some anxiety in the public mind whether the government is doing its duty to the colored soldier, and to the service, at this point. At the beginning of the war, and for some time,

[1] Reference here is made to an exaggerated report from General Forrest, a Confederate cavalry officer, who declared that on April 12, 1864, at Fort Pillow, Tennessee, he had stormed and captured it, killing five hundred. The majority of the killed were colored soldiers. The Fort Pillow affair is the worst on record of deliberate massacre of negro troops during the war. President Lincoln did not use any retaliatory measures.

the use of colored troops was not contemplated; and how the change of purpose was wrought I will not now take time to explain. Upon a clear conviction of duty I resolved to turn that element of strength to account; and I am responsible for it to the American people, to the Christian world, to history, and in my final account to God. Having determined to use the negro as a soldier, there is no way but to give him all the protection given to any other soldier. The difficulty is not in stating the principle, but in practically applying it. It is a mistake to suppose the government is indifferent to this matter, or is not doing the best it can in regard to it. We do not to-day know that a colored soldier, or white officer commanding colored soldiers, has been massacred by the rebels when made a prisoner. We fear it,—believe it, I may say,—but we do not know it. To take the life of one of their prisoners on the assumption that they murder ours, when it is short of certainty that they do murder ours, might be too serious, to cruel, a mistake. We are having the Fort Pillow affair thoroughly investigated; and such investigation will probably show conclusively how the truth is. If after all that has been said it shall turn out that there has been no massacre at Fort Pillow, it will be almost safe to say there has been none, and will

be none, elsewhere. If there has been the massacre of three hundred there, or even the tenth part of three hundred, it will be conclusively proved; and being so proved, the retribution shall as surely come. It will be matter of grave consideration in what exact course to apply the retribution; but in the supposed case it must come.

*Despatch to Calvin Truesdale

Executive Mansion, Washington, D. C.,
April 20, 1864.

Calvin Truesdale, Rock Island, Ill.: Thomas J. Pickett, late agent of the Quartermaster's Department for the island of Rock Island, has been removed or suspended from that position on a charge of having sold timber and stone from the island for his private benefit.

Mr. Pickett is an old acquaintance and friend of mine, and I will thank you, if you will, to set a day or days and place on and at which to take testimony on the point. Notify Mr. Pickett and one J. B. Danforth (who as I understand makes the charge) to be present with their witnesses. Take the testimony in writing offered by both sides, and report it in full to me. Please do this for me.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

*TELEGRAMS CONCERNING CHARLES CARPENTER

EXECUTIVE MANSION, April 20, 1864.

Officer in Military Command, at Fort Warren, Mass.: If there is a man by the name of Charles Carpenter, under sentence of death for desertion, at Fort Warren, suspend execution until further order and send the record of his trial. If sentenced for any other offence, telegraph what it is, and when he is to be executed. Answer at all events. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, April 21, 1864.

Officer in Military Command, at Fort Warren, Mass.: The order I sent yesterday in regard to Charles Carpenter is hereby withdrawn, and you are to act as if it had never existed.

A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, April 21, 1864.

Major-General Dix, New York: Yesterday I was induced to telegraph the officer in military command at Fort Warren, Boston Harbor, Mass., suspending the execution of Charles Carpenter, to be executed to-morrow for desertion. Just now on reading your order in the case, I telegraphed the same officer withdrawing the suspension, and leaving the case entirely with you. The man's friends are pressing me, but I refer them to you, intending to take no further action myself. A. LINCOLN.

Telegram to General W. S. Rosecrans

Executive Mansion, April 23, 1864.

Major-General Rosecrans, St. Louis, Missouri: A lady, Mrs. Ward, sister of the late John M. Weimer, is here, saying she is banished from St. Louis, her home, and asking to be allowed to return, on taking the oath and giving bond. It is exclusively with you to decide; but I will thank you to examine the case, and shall be glad if you find it consistent with your views to oblige her. A. Lincoln.

Indorsement on Offer of Troops, April 23, 1864

To the President of the United States:

I. The governors of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, and Wisconsin offer to the President infantry troops for the approaching campaign as follows:

Ohio	30,000
Indiana	20,000
Illinois	20,000
Iowa	10,000
Wisconsin	5,000

II. The term of service to be one hundred days, reckoned from the date of muster into the service of the United States, unless sooner discharged.

III. The troops to be mustered into the service of the United States by regiments, when the regiments are filled up, according to regulations, to the min-

imum strength — the regiments to be organized according to the regulations of the War Department. The whole number to be furnished within twenty days from date of notice of the acceptance of this proposition.

IV. The troops to be clothed, armed, equipped, subsisted, transported, and paid as other United States infantry volunteers, and to serve in fortifications, or wherever their services may be required, within or without their respective States.

V. No bounty to be paid the troops, nor the service charged or credited on any draft.

VI. The draft for three years' service to go on in any State or district where the quota is not filled up; but if any officer or soldier in this special service should be drafted, he shall be credited for the service rendered.

JOHN BROUGH, *Governor of Ohio.*
O. P. MORTON, *Governor of Indiana.*
RICHARD YATES, *Governor of Illinois.*
WILLIAM M. STONE, *Governor of Iowa.*
JAMES T. LEWIS, *Governor of Wisconsin.*

[*Indorsement.*]

The foregoing propostion of the governors is accepted, and the Secretary of War is directed to carry it into execution. A. LINCOLN.

April 23, 1864.

LETTER TO SECRETARY STANTON

EXECUTIVE MANSION, April 23, 1864.

My dear Sir: According to our understand-

ing with Major-General Frank P. Blair at the time he took his seat in Congress last winter, he now asks to withdraw his resignation as major-general, then tendered, and be sent to the field. Let this be done. Let the order sending him be such as shown me to-day by the Adjutant-General, only dropping from it the names of Maguire and Tompkins. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

MESSAGE TO CONGRESS, April 23, 1864

To the Senate and House of Representatives: I transmit to Congress a copy of a note of the nineteenth instant, from Lord Lyons to the Secretary of State, on the subject of two British naval officers who recently received medical treatment at the naval hospital at Norfolk. The expediency of authorizing Surgeon Solomon Sharp to accept the piece of plate to which the note refers, as an acknowledgment of his services, is submitted to your consideration.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

*TELEGRAM TO JOHN WILLIAMS

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, D. C.,
April 25, 1864.

John Williams, Springfield, Ill.: Yours of the 15th is just received. Thanks for your kind remembrance. I would accept your offer at

once, were it not that I fear there might be some impropriety in it, though I do not see that there would. I will think of it a while.

A. LINCOLN.

*TELEGRAM TO GENERAL G. G. MEADE

WAR DEPARTMENT, April 25, 1864.

Major-General Meade, Army of Potomac:
A Mr. Corby brought you a note from me at the foot of a petition I believe, in the case of Dawson, to be executed to-day. The record has been examined here, and it shows too strong a case for a pardon or commutation, unless there is something in the poor man's favor outside of the record, which you on the ground may know, but I do not. My note to you only means that if you know of any such thing rendering a suspension of the execution proper, on your own judgment, you are at liberty to suspend it. Otherwise I do not interfere. A. LINCOLN.

TELEGRAM TO GOVERNOR MURPHY

WASHINGTON, D. C., April 27, 1864.

Governor Murphy, Little Rock, Arkansas:
I am much gratified to learn that you got out so large a vote, so nearly all the right way, at the late election; and not less so that your State government, including the legislature, is organized and in good working order. Whatever I can

I will do to protect you; meanwhile you must do your utmost to protect yourselves. Present my greeting to all. A. LINCOLN.

MESSAGE TO CONGRESS, April 28, 1864

To the Honorable the Senate and House of Representatives: I have the honor to transmit herewith an address to the President of the United States, and, through him, to both Houses of Congress, on the condition and wants of the people of East Tennessee, and asking their attention to the necessity of some action on the part of the government for their relief, and which address is presented by a committee of an organization called "The East Tennessee Relief Association." Deeply commiserating the condition of these most loyal and suffering people, I am unprepared to make any specific recommendation for their relief. The military is doing, and will continue to do, the best for them within its power. Their address represents that the construction of direct railroad communication between Knoxville and Cincinnati, by way of central Kentucky, would be of great consequence in the present emergency. It may be remembered that in the annual message of December, 1861, such railroad construction was recommended. I now add that, with the hearty concurrence of Congress, I would yet be

pleased to construct the road, both for the relief of these people and for its continuing military importance. ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

MESSAGE TO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, April 28, 1864

To the House of Representatives: In obedience to the resolution of your honorable body, a copy of which is herewith returned, I have the honor to make the following brief statement, which is believed to contain the information sought:

Prior to and at the meeting of the present Congress, Robert C. Schenck, of Ohio, and Frank P. Blair, Jr., of Missouri, members elect thereto, by and with the consent of the Senate held commissions from the executive as major-generals in the volunteer army. General Schenck tendered the resignation of his said commission, and took his seat in the House of Representatives, at the assembling thereof, upon the distinct verbal understanding with the Secretary of War and the executive that he might, at any time during the session, at his own pleasure, withdraw said resignation and return to the field.

General Blair was, by temporary assignment of General Sherman, in command of a corps through the battles in front of Chattanooga, and

in the march to the relief of Knoxville, which occurred in the latter days of November and early days of December last, and of course was not present at the assembling of Congress. When he subsequently arrived here, he sought, and was allowed by the Secretary of War and the executive, the same conditions and promise as allowed and made to General Schenck.

General Schenck has not applied to withdraw his resignation; but when General Grant was made lieutenant-general, producing some change of commanders, General Blair sought to be assigned to the command of a corps. This was made known to Generals Grant and Sherman, and assented to by them, and the particular corps for him designated. This was all arranged and understood, as now remembered, so much as a month ago; but the formal withdrawal of General Blair's resignation, and making the order assigning him to the command of the corps, were not consummated at the War Department until last week, perhaps on the 23d of April instant. As a summary of the whole, it may be stated that General Blair holds no military commission or appointment other than as herein stated, and that it is believed he is now acting as major-general upon the assumed validity of the commission herein stated, in connec-

tion with the facts herein stated, and not otherwise.

There are some letters, notes, telegrams, orders, entries, and perhaps other documents, in connection with this subject which it is believed would throw no additional light upon it, but which will be cheerfully furnished if desired.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

TELEGRAM TO MRS. LINCOLN

EXECUTIVE MANSION, April 28, 1864.

Mrs. A. Lincoln, New York: The draft will go to you. Tell Tad the goats and father are very well, especially the goats.

A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO J. R. FRY

EXECUTIVE MANSION, April 30, 1864.

My dear Sir: I thank you heartily for the kind invitation conveyed in your letter of the twenty-sixth, and sincerely regret that I cannot make a positive engagement to avail myself of it. My time is subject to such constant and unexpected requisitions that I cannot unreservedly accept any such pleasure as that you offer me, at this distance of time.

I shall be most happy to be present at an entertainment which promises so much, especially as it is in aid of so beneficent a charity as that

in which you are interested, if my engagements next week will allow it.

But I must beg that you will make no special arrangements in view of my presence, as I may be disappointed. If I can come I will notify you as early as possible.

Yours very truly, A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO GENERAL U. S. GRANT [1]

EXECUTIVE MANSION, April 30, 1864.

Lieutenant-General Grant: Not expecting to see you again before the spring campaign opens, I wish to express in this way my entire satisfaction with what you have done up to this time, so far as I understand it. The particulars of your plans I neither know nor seek to know. You are vigilant and self-reliant; and, pleased with this, I wish not to obtrude any constraints or restraints upon you. While I am very anxious that any great disaster or capture of our

[1] Grant was put in command of all the armies of the North in March, 1864. Confidence was so great in him that from the first he was allowed to take matters in his own hands. Replying to the above letter from the President, Grant wrote the next day: "From my first entrance into the volunteer service of the country to the present day, I have never had a cause of complaint. . . . I have been astonished at the readiness with which everything asked for has been yielded, without even an explanation being asked. Should my success be less than I desire and expect, the least I can say is the fault is not with you."

men in great numbers shall be avoided, I know these points are less likely to escape your attention than they would be mine. If there is anything wanting which is within my power to give, do not fail to let me know it. And now, with a brave army and a just cause, may God sustain you Yours very truly,

A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO GENERAL S. A. HURLBUT

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, D. C.,
May 2, 1864.

My dear Sir: General Farnsworth has just been reading to me from your letter to him of the 26th ultimo. I snatch a moment to say that my friendship and confidence for you remain unabated, but that Generals Grant and Thomas cannot be held to their just responsibilities if they are not allowed to control in the class of cases to which yours belongs.

From one standpoint a court of inquiry is most just, but if your case were my own I would not allow Generals Grant and Sherman [to] be diverted by it just now. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

MESSAGE TO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, May 2, 1864

To the Honorable the House of Representa-

tives: In compliance with the request contained in your resolution of the 29th ultimo, a copy of which resolution is herewith returned, I have the honor to transmit the following:

. . . . . .

[Correspondence and orders relating to the resignation and reinstatement of Major-General Frank P. Blair, Jr., of Missouri.]

. . . . . .

The foregoing constitutes all sought by the resolutions so far as is remembered or has been found upon diligent search.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

LETTER TO MEMBERS OF THE CABINET

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, D. C.,

May 3, 1864.

Sir: It is now quite certain that a large number of our colored soldiers, with their white officers, were by the rebel force massacred after they had surrendered, at the recent capture of Fort Pillow. So much is known, though the evidence is not yet quite ready to be laid before me. Meanwhile I will thank you to prepare, and give me in writing, your opinion as to what course the government should take in the case.

Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

Telegram to General W. T. Sherman

Washington, D. C., May 4, 1864.

Major-General Sherman, Chattanooga, Tenn.: I have an imploring appeal in behalf of the citizens, who say your Order No. 8 will compel them to go north of Nashville. This is in no sense an order, nor is it even a request that you will do anything which in the least shall be a drawback upon your military operations, but anything you can do consistently with those operations for those suffering people I shall be glad of. A. Lincoln.

*Telegram to General W. S. Rosecrans

Executive Mansion, Washington, D. C.,
May 5, 1864.

Major-General Rosecrans, Saint Louis, Mo.: The President directs me to inquire whether a day has yet been fixed for the execution of citizen Robert Louden, and if so what day?

John Hay,
Major and Assistant Adjutant-General.

Message to the Senate, May 7, 1864

To the Senate of the United States: In compliance with the request contained in a resolution of the Senate, dated April 30, 1864, I herewith transmit to your honorable body a copy of

the opinion by the Attorney-General on the rights of colored persons in the army or volunteer service of the United States, together with the accompanying papers.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

RECOMMENDATION OF THANKSGIVING

EXECUTIVE MANSION, May 9, 1864.

To the Friends of Union and Liberty: Enough is known of army operations within the last five days to claim an especial gratitude to God, while what remains undone demands our most sincere prayers to, and reliance upon, him without whom all human effort is vain. I recommend that all patriots, at their homes, in their places of public worship, and wherever they may be, unite in common thanksgiving and prayer to almighty God.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

Response to a Serenade, May 9, 1864

FELLOW-CITIZENS: I am very much obliged to you for the compliment of this call, though I apprehend it is owing more to the good news received to-day from the army, than to a desire to see me. I am indeed very grateful to the brave men who have been struggling with the enemy in the field, to their noble commanders who have directed them, and especially to our Maker. Our commanders are following up their victories resolutely and successfully. I think, without knowing the particulars of the plans of General Grant, that what has been accomplished is of more importance than at first appears. I believe, I know—and am especially grateful to know—that General Grant has not been jostled in his purposes, that he has made all his points, and to-day he is on his line as he purposed before he moved his armies. I will volunteer to say that I am very glad at what has happened, but there is a great deal still to be done. While we are grateful to all the brave men and officers for the events of the past few days, we should

above all, be very grateful to almighty God, who gives us victory.

There is enough yet before us requiring all loyal men and patriots to perform their share of the labor and follow the example of the modest general at the head of our armies, and sink all personal consideration for the sake of the country. I commend you to keep yourselves in the same tranquil mood that is characteristic of that brave and loyal man. I have said more than I expected when I came before you. Repeating my thanks for this call, I bid you good-by.

*Letter to Mrs. S. B. Meconkey

Executive Mansion, Washington, D. C.,
May 9, 1864.

Madam: Our mutual friend, Judge Lewis, tells me you do me the honor to inquire for my personal welfare. I have been very anxious for some days in regard to our armies in the field, but am considerably cheered, just now, by favorable news from them. I am sure that you will join me in the hope for their further success; while yourself, and other good mothers, wives, sisters, and daughters, do all you and they can, to relieve and comfort the gallant soldiers who compose them. Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

*Telegram to General Lew Wallace

War Department, May 10, 1864.

Major-General Wallace, Baltimore: Please tell me what is the trouble with Dr. Hawks. Also please ask Bishop Whittington to give me his view of the case. A. Lincoln.

Telegram to General W. S. Rosecrans

Executive Mansion, May 11, 1864.

Major-General Rosecrans, St. Louis, Missouri: Complaints are coming to me of disturbances in Carroll, Platte, and Buchanan counties. Please ascertain the truth, correct what is found wrong, and telegraph me.

A. Lincoln.

Letter to F. B. Loomis

Executive Mansion, May 12, 1864.

My dear Sir: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your communication of the 28th April, in which you offer to replace the present garrison at Fort Trumbull with volunteers, which you propose to raise at your own expense. While it seems inexpedient at this time to accept this proposition on account of the special duties now devolving upon the garrison mentioned, I cannot pass unnoticed such a meritorious instance of individual patriotism. Per-

mit me, for the government, to express my cordial thanks to you for this generous and public-spirited offer, which is worthy of note among the many called forth in these times of national trial. I am very truly, your obedient servant,

A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO S. C. POMEROY

EXECUTIVE MANSION, May 12, 1864.

Sir: I did not doubt yesterday that you desired to see me about the appointment of assessor in Kansas. I wish you and Lane would make a sincere effort to get out of the mood you are in. It does neither of you any good. It gives you the means of tormenting my life out of me, and nothing else. Yours, etc.,

A. LINCOLN.

TELEGRAM TO GENERAL LEW WALLACE

WASHINGTON, D. C., May 13, 1864.

Major-General Wallace, Baltimore: I was very anxious to avoid new excitement at places where quiet seemed to be restored; but, after reading and considering your letter and inclosure, I have to say I leave you to act your careful discretion in the matter. The good news this morning, I hope, will have a good effect all round. A. LINCOLN.

Indorsement about a Church at Memphis, Tennessee, May 13, 1864

I believe it is true that with reference to the church within named [at Memphis], I wrote as follows:

> If the military have military need of the church building, let them keep it; otherwise, let them go out of it, and leave it and its owners alone, except for causes that justify the arrest of any one.
>
> March 4, 1864. A. Lincoln.

I am now told that the military were not in possession of the building, and yet that in pretended execution of the above they, the military, put one set of men out of and another set into the building. This, if true, is most extraordinary. I say again, if there be no military need for the building, leave it alone, neither putting any one in nor out of it, except on finding some one preaching or practising treason, in which case lay hands upon him just as if he were doing the same thing in any other building or in the streets or highways. A. Lincoln.

Reply to a Methodist Delegation, May 14, 1864

Gentlemen: In response to your address, allow me to attest the accuracy of its historical

statements, indorse the sentiments it expresses, and thank you in the nation's name for the sure promise it gives.

Nobly sustained as the government has been by all the churches, I would utter nothing which might in the least appear invidious against any. Yet without this it may fairly be said that the Methodist Episcopal Church, not less devoted than the best, is by its greater numbers the most important of all. It is no fault in others that the Methodist Church sends more soldiers to the field, more nurses to the hospital, and more prayers to heaven than any. God bless the Methodist Church. Bless all the churches, and blessed be God, who, in this our great trial, giveth us the churches.

Indorsement of Letter of Governor Carney, May 14, 1864

The within letter is, to my mind, so obviously intended as a page for a political record, as to be difficult to answer in a straightforward, businesslike way. The merits of the Kansas people need not to be argued to me. They are just as good as any other loyal and patriotic people, and as such, to the best of my ability I have always treated them, and intend to treat them. It is not my recollection that I said to you Senator Lane would probably oppose raising troops in

Kansas because it would confer patronage upon you. What I did say was, that he would probably oppose it because he and you were in a mood of each opposing whatever the other should propose. I did argue generally, too, that in my opinion there is not a more foolish or demoralizing way of conducting a political rivalry than these fierce and bitter struggles for patronage.

As to your demand that I will accept or reject your proposition to furnish troops, made to me yesterday, I have to say I took the proposition under advisement, in good faith, as I believe you know; that you can withdraw it if you wish; but while it remains before me, I shall neither accept nor reject it until, with reference to the public interest, I shall feel that I am ready.

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

REPLY TO A BAPTIST DELEGATION, [May 14, 1864?]

In the present very responsible position in which I am engaged, I have had great cause of gratitude for the support so unanimously given by all Christian denominations of the country. I have had occasion so frequently to respond to something like this assemblage, that I have said all I had to say. This particular body is, in all respects, as respectable as any that have been

presented to me. The resolutions I have merely heard read, and I therefore beg to be allowed an opportunity to make a short response in writing.

Letter to Secretary Chase

Executive Mansion,
Washington, D. C., May 18, 1864.

My dear Sir: Evening before last two gentlemen called on me and talked so earnestly about financial matters as to set me thinking of them a little more particularly since. And yet only one idea has occurred, which I think worth while even to suggest to you. It is this:

Suppose you change your five per cent. loan to six, allowing the holders of the fives already out to convert them into sixes, upon taking each an equal additional amount at six. You will understand better than I all the reasons *pro* and *con,* among which probably will be the rise of the rate of interest in Europe. Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

Telegram to General U. S. Grant

Executive Mansion, May 18, 1864.

Lieutenant-General Grant, Army of the Potomac: An elderly gentleman, Dr. Winston, is here, saying he is well acquainted with the ground you are on, and trying to get on, and having letters from Governor Morton, Senator

Lane, and one from your father, and asking to be allowed to go to you. Shall we allow him to go to you? A. LINCOLN.

ORDER TO GENERAL J. A. DIX

EXECUTIVE MANSION, May 18, 1864.

Major-General Dix, Commanding at New York: Whereas there has been wickedly and traitorously printed and published this morning in the New York "World" and New York "Journal of Commerce," newspapers printed and published in the city of New York, a false and spurious proclamation, purporting to be signed by the President and to be countersigned by the Secretary of State, which publication is of a treasonable nature designed to give aid and comfort to the enemies of the United States and to the rebels now at war against the government, and their aiders and abettors: you are therefore hereby commanded forthwith to arrest and imprison, in any fort or military prison in your command, the editors, proprietors, and publishers of the aforesaid newspapers, and all such persons as, after public notice has been given of the falsehood of said publication, print and publish the same with intent to give aid and comfort to the enemy; and you will hold the persons so arrested in close custody until they can be brought to trial before a military commission

for their offense. You will also take possession, by military force, of the printing establishments of the New York "World" and "Journal of Commerce," and hold the same until further orders, and prevent any further publication therefrom.

A. LINCOLN, President of the United States.

By the President: WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Secretary of State.

* TELEGRAM TO GOVERNOR R. YATES

EXECUTIVE MANSION, May 18, 1864.

Governor Richard Yates, Springfield, Ill.: If any such proclamation has appeared, it is a forgery. A. LINCOLN.

TELEGRAM TO GENERAL B. F. BUTLER

(*Cipher.*)

WASHINGTON, D. C., May 18, 1864.

Major-General Butler, Bermuda Hundred, Va.: Until receiving your despatch of yesterday, the idea of commissions in the volunteers expiring at the end of three years had not occurred to me. I think no trouble will come of it; and, at all events, I shall take care of it so far as in me lies. As to the major-generalships in the regular army, I think I shall not dispose of another, at least until the combined operations now in progress, under direction of Gen-

eral Grant, and within which yourself and command are included, shall be terminated.

Meanwhile, on behalf of yourself, officers, and men, please accept my hearty thanks for what you and they have so far done.

A. LINCOLN.

* TELEGRAM TO GOVERNOR A. JOHNSON

WAR DEPARTMENT, May 19, 1864.

Hon. Andrew Johnson, Nashville, Tenn.: Yours of the 17th was received yesterday. Will write you on the subject within a day or two.

A. LINCOLN.

* TELEGRAM TO F. SCHMEDDING

EXECUTIVE MANSION, May 20, 1864.

Felix Schmedding, Saint Louis, Mo.: The pleasure of attending your fair is not within my power.

A. LINCOLN.

TELEGRAM TO A. MACKAY

EXECUTIVE MANSION, May 20, 1864.

Alfred Mackay, St. Louis, Mo.: Your despatch received. Thanks for your greeting, and congratulations for the successful opening of your fair. Our soldiers are doing well, and must and will be done well by.

A. LINCOLN.

Telegram to Governor Morton [1]

Executive Mansion,
Washington, D. C., May 21, 1864.

Governor O. P. Morton: The getting forward of hundred-day troops to sustain General Sherman's lengthening lines promises much good. Please put your best efforts into the work.

A. Lincoln.

* Telegrams concerning Henry Sack

War Department, May 21, 1864.

Christiana A. Sack, Baltimore, Md.: I cannot postpone the execution of a convicted spy on a mere telegraphic dispatch signed with a name I never heard before. General Wallace may give you a pass to see him if he chooses.

A. Lincoln.

War Department, May 23, 1864.

To the Commanding Officer at Fort Monroe: Is a man named Henry Sack to be executed tomorrow at noon? If so, when was he condemned and for what offense? A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion, May 24, 1864.

To the Commanding Officer at Fort Monroe, Va.: Let the execution of Henry Sack be sus-

[1] Same to Governor Yates, Springfield, Illinois; Governor Stone, Davenport, Iowa; Governor Lewis, Madison, Wisconsin.—N. and H.

pended. I have commuted his sentence to imprisonment during the war. A. LINCOLN.

Please send this at once. JOHN HAY.

INDORSEMENT, May 24, 1864

E. A. Paul: The [N. Y.] "Times," I believe, is always true to the Union, and therefore should be treated at least as well as any.

A. LINCOLN.

TELEGRAM TO GOVERNOR BROUGH

WASHINGTON CITY, May 24, 1864.

Governor Brough, Columbus, O.: Yours to Secretary of War [received] asking for something cheering. We have nothing bad from anywhere. I have just seen a despatch of Grant, of 11 P. M., May 23, on the North Anna and partly across it, which ends as follows: "Everything looks exceedingly favorable for us." We have nothing later from him.

A. LINCOLN.

* TELEGRAM TO GENERAL G. G. MEADE

EXECUTIVE MANSION, May 25, 1864.

Major-General Meade, Army of Potomac: Mr. J. C. Swift wishes a pass from me to follow your army to pick up rags and cast-off clothing. I will give it to him if you say so, otherwise not.

A. LINCOLN.

Letter to I. N. Arnold

Executive Mansion, May 25, 1864.

My dear Sir: In regard to the order of General Burnside suspending the Chicago "Times," now nearly a year ago, I can only say I was embarrassed with the question between what was due to the military service on the one hand, and the liberty of the press on the other, and I believe it was the despatch of Senator Trumbull and yourself, added to the proceedings of the meeting which it brought me, that turned the scale in favor of my revoking the order.

I am far from certain to-day that the revocation was not right; and I am very sure the small part you took in it is no just ground to disparage your judgment, much less to impugn your motives. I take it that your devotion to the Union and the administration cannot be questioned by any sincere man. Yours truly,

A. Lincoln

Telegram to R. W. Thompson

Executive Mansion, May 27, 1864.

Hon. R. W. Thompson, Terre Haute, Ind.: Your letter in relation to General Hunter and your son, just received. If General Hunter should ask to have your son on his staff, the request would be granted; but the general is now

actively moving in the field, and is beyond telegraph. I doubt whether the promotion you think of is legally possible. A. LINCOLN.

TELEGRAM TO C. A. WALBORN

EXECUTIVE MANSION, May 28, 1864.

Hon. C. A. Walborn, Philadelphia, Penn.:
Yours received. I have felt constrained to answer repeated invitations to attend the great fair at your city, that I cannot be present at its opening, and that whether I can during its continuance must depend on circumstances.

A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO DR. IDE AND OTHERS [1]

EXECUTIVE MANSION, May 30, 1864.

In response to the preamble and resolutions of the American Baptist Home Mission Society, which you did me the honor to present, I can only thank you for thus adding to the effective and almost unanimous support which the Christian communities are so zealously giving to the country and to liberty. Indeed, it is difficult to conceive how it could be otherwise with any one professing Christianity, or even having ordinary perceptions of right and wrong. To read in the Bible, as the word of God himself, that "In the

[1] Committee composed of Rev. Dr. Ide, Hon. J. R. Doolittle, and Hon. A. Hubbell.

sweat of *thy* face shalt thou eat bread," and to preach therefrom that, "In the sweat of *other men's* faces shalt thou eat bread," to my mind can scarcely be reconciled with honest sincerity. When brought to my final reckoning, may I have to answer for robbing no man of his goods; yet more tolerable even this, than for robbing one of himself and all that was his. When, a year or two ago, those professedly holy men of the South met in the semblance of prayer and devotion, and, in the name of him who said, "As ye would all men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them," appealed to the Christian world to aid them in doing to a whole race of men as they would have no man do unto themselves, to my thinking they contemned and insulted God and his church far more than did Satan when he tempted the Saviour with the kingdoms of the earth. The devil's attempt was no more false, and far less hypocritical. But let me forbear, remembering it is also written, "Judge not lest ye be judged." A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO JOHN H. BRYANT.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, May 30, 1864.

My Dear Sir: Yours of the 14th instant inclosing a card of invitation to a preliminary meeting contemplating the erection of a monument to the memory of Hon. Owen Lovejoy was

duly received. As you anticipate, it will be out of my power to attend. Many of you have known Mr. Lovejoy longer than I have, and are better able than I to do his memory complete justice. My personal acquaintance with him commenced only about ten years ago, since when it has been quite intimate, and every step in it has been one of increasing respect and esteem, ending, with his life, in no less than affection on my part. It can truly be said of him that while he was personally ambitious he bravely endured the obscurity which the unpopularity of his principles imposed, and never accepted official honors until those honors were ready to admit his principles with him. Throughout very heavy and perplexing responsibilities here to the day of his death, it would scarcely wrong any other to say he was my most generous friend.

Let him have the marble monument along with the well-assured and more enduring one in the hearts of those who love liberty unselfishly for all men. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

Letter to F. A. Conkling and Others

Executive Mansion, June 3, 1864.

GENTLEMEN: Your letter inviting me to be present at a mass-meeting of loyal citizens to be held at New York on the fourth instant, for the purpose of expressing gratitude to Lieutenant-General Grant for his signal services, was received yesterday. It is impossible for me to attend.

I approve, nevertheless, whatever may tend to strengthen and sustain General Grant and the noble armies now under his direction. My previous high estimate of General Grant has been maintained and heightened by what has occurred in the remarkable campaign he is now conducting, while the magnitude and difficulty of the task before him do not prove less than I expected. He and his brave soldiers are now in the midst of their great trial, and I trust that at your meeting you will so shape your good words that they may turn to men and guns, moving to his and their support. Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

Indorsement on Letter to Major John Hay, June 6, 1864

Eutaw House, Baltimore, June 5, 1864.

My dear Major: Arrived here safely — find quite a number of delegates already in, but have not yet talked much with them.

One of the first men I met was B. C. Cook, who stands at the head of our Illinois delegation, and had quite a long and confidential talk with him. He told me he had thought of going to Washington to-morrow, but seeing me he concluded he could sufficiently post himself.

He premised by telling me that the milk-and-water Lincoln resolution, which was first reported to the Illinois State Convention, was cooked up by a few plotters, to the utter surprise and astonishment of nine-tenths of the Convention, and by only a part of the Committee, and was with the others reported to the Convention when there was but a small attendance, it being late at night, but that the Convention very handsomely repudiated them, and referred them to a new Committee, which introduced and passed others of the right stripe. Cook does not seem to know thoroughly who were at the bottom of the matter. He thinks T—— was the chief manager. M—— is understood to have declared himself opposed to the resolution in Committee, but seems to have contented himself with the mere expression of his dissent, after which he went away without further

active opposition. Strangely enough one or two men have told me that W——, either of his own volition or under the influence of others, was in the scheme. J ——, on the contrary, Cook told me, was open and hearty for Lincoln.

Cook says there will be three or four disaffected members in the delegation from Illinois, but that nevertheless the delegation will vote and act as a unit, under the instructions of the Convention and also the will of the large majority of the delegation. He says the delegation will in good faith do everything they can for Lincoln, that is, in arranging the Vice-President, the Committee, Platform, etc., taking his own nomination of course as beyond question.

What transpired at home, and what he has heard from several sources, have made Cook suspicious that Swett may be untrue to Lincoln. One of the straws which led him to this belief is that Swett has telegraphed here urging the Illinois delegation to go for Holt for Vice-President.

I told Cook that I thought Lincoln would not wish even to indicate a preference for Vice-President, as the rival candidates were all friendly to him.

There will be some little trouble in arranging the matter of the contested seats from Missouri. The Radicals seem to have the technical right to be admitted. They threaten to withdraw from the Convention if the Conservatives are also admitted, but promise to abide the action of the Convention if they (the Radicals) obtain the seats. Cook says they intimated to him that they would even promise to vote

for Lincoln in the Convention for the promise of an admission to seats.

Whitelaw Reid is here, and told me this evening that the Radicals conceded Lincoln's renomination, but their present game was to make a very radical platform.

Cook wants to know confidentially whether Swett is all right; whether in urging Holt for Vice-President he reflects the President's wishes; whether the President has any preference, either personally or on the score of policy, or whether he wishes not even to interfere by a confidential indication. Also whether he thinks it would be good policy to give the Radical delegates from Missouri the seats on their promising to vote for him.

Please get this information for me if possible. Write and send your letter by express so that it will reach me by the earliest practicable hour to-morrow (Monday). This will go to you by express by the 7 A. M. train to-morrow, so that you ought to have it by 10 A. M. Address me at Eutaw House.

JOHN G. NICOLAY.

[*Indorsement.*]

Swett is unquestionably all right. Mr. Holt is a good man, but I had not heard or thought of him for Vice-President. Wish not to interfere about Vice-President. Cannot interfere about platform. Convention must judge for itself.

A. LINCOLN.

Message to Congress, June 8, 1864.

To the Senate and House of Representatives: I have the honor to submit for the consideration of Congress a letter and inclosure from the Secretary of War, with my concurrence in the recommendation therein made.

Abraham Lincoln.

Telegram to General W. S. Rosecrans

Washington, June 8, 1864.

Major-General Rosecrans, St. Louis, Mo.: Yours of to-day received. I am unable to conceive how a message can be less safe by the express than by a staff-officer. If you send a verbal message, the messenger is one additional person let into the secret. A. Lincoln.

Reply to the Committee Notifying President Lincoln of Renomination, June 9, 1864[1]

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Committee: I will neither conceal my gratification nor restrain the expression of my gratitude that the

[1] On June 8, 1864, Lincoln was renominated for President, the State of Illinois presenting his name before the Union Convention. There was little opposition. Secretary Chase was a rival for nomination, also General Fremont. General McClellan was the Democratic candidate. Before election, on Nov. 8, the mind of the country had been in fearful turmoil. Union

Union people, through their convention, in their continued effort to save and advance the nation, have deemed me not unworthy to remain in my present position. I know no reason to doubt that I shall accept the nomination tendered; and yet perhaps I should not declare definitely before reading and considering what is called the platform. I will say now, however, I approve the declaration in favor of so amending the Constitution as to prohibit slavery throughout the nation. When the people in revolt, with a hundred days of explicit notice that they could within those days resume their allegiance without the overthrow of their institution, and that they could not so resume it afterward, elected to stand out, such amendment of the Constitution as now proposed became a fitting and necessary conclusion to the final success of the Union cause. Such alone can meet and cover all cavils. Now the unconditional Union men, North and South, perceive its importance and embrace it. In the joint names of Liberty and Union, let us labor to give it legal form and practical effect.

and Confederate victories alternated so sharply and decisively that public opinion was in a maze of perplexity. At one time it looked as though Lincoln might lose the election through the reverses on the field of battle. He thought so himself. However, the Union cause advanced before election day and the result of the electoral votes was, that out of 233 Lincoln received 212.

PLATFORM OF THE UNION NATIONAL CONVENTION HELD IN BALTIMORE, MARYLAND, JUNE 7 AND 8, 1864.

1. *Resolved,* That it is the highest duty of every American citizen to maintain against all their enemies the integrity of the Union and the paramount authority of the Constitution and laws of the United States; and that, laying aside all differences of political opinion, we pledge ourselves, as Union men, animated by a common sentiment and aiming at a common object, to do everything in our power to aid the government in quelling by force of arms the rebellion now raging against its authority, and in bringing to the punishment due to their crimes the rebels and traitors arrayed against it.

2. *Resolved,* That we approve the determination of the government of the United States not to compromise with rebels, or to offer them any terms of peace, except such as may be based upon an unconditional surrender of their hostility and a return to their just allegiance to the Constitution and laws of the United States, and that we call upon the government to maintain this position, and to prosecute the war with the utmost possible vigor to the complete suppression of the rebellion, in full reliance upon the self-sacrificing patriotism, the heroic valor, and the undying devotion of the American people to their country and its free institutions.

3. *Resolved,* That as slavery was the cause, and now constitutes the strength, of this rebellion, and as

it must be, always and everywhere, hostile to the principles of republican government, justice and the national safety demand its utter and complete extirpation from the soil of the republic; and that while we uphold and maintain the acts and proclamations by which the government, in its own defense, has aimed a death-blow at this gigantic evil, we are in favor, furthermore, of such an amendment to the Constitution, to be made by the people in conformity with its provisions, as shall terminate and forever prohibit the existence of slavery within the limits or the jurisdiction of the United States.

4. *Resolved,* That the thanks of the American people are due to the soldiers and sailors of the army and navy, who have periled their lives in defense of their country and in vindication of the honor of its flag; that the nation owes to them some permanent recognition of their patriotism and their valor, and ample and permanent provision for those of their survivors who have received disabling and honorable wounds in the service of the country; and that the memories of those who have fallen in its defense shall be held in grateful and everlasting remembrance.

5. *Resolved,* That we approve and applaud the practical wisdom, the unselfish patriotism, and the unswerving fidelity to the Constitution and the principles of American liberty, with which Abraham Lincoln has discharged under circumstances of unparalleled difficulty the great duties and responsibilities of the Presidential office; that we approve and indorse

as demanded by the emergency and essential to the preservation of the nation, and as within the provisions of the Constitution, the measures and acts which he has adopted to defend the nation against its open and secret foes; that we approve, especially, the Proclamation of Emancipation, and the employment as Union soldiers of men heretofore held in slavery; and that we have full confidence in his determination to carry these and all other constitutional measures essential to the salvation of the country into full and complete effect.

6. *Resolved,* That we deem it essential to the general welfare that harmony should prevail in the national councils, and we regard as worthy of public confidence and official trust those only who cordially indorse the principles proclaimed in these resolutions, and which should characterize the administration of the government.

7. *Resolved,* That the government owes to all men employed in its armies, without regard to distinction of color, the full protection of the laws of war, and that any violation of these laws, or of the usages of civilized nations in time of war, by the rebels now in arms, should be made the subject of prompt and full redress.

8. *Resolved,* That foreign immigration, which in the past has added so much to the wealth, development of resources, and increase of power to this nation, the asylum of the oppressed of all nations, should be fostered and encouraged by a liberal and just policy.

9. *Resolved,* That we are in favor of the speedy construction of the railroad to the Pacific coast.

10. *Resolved,* That the national faith, pledged for the redemption of the public debt, must be kept inviolate, and that for this purpose we recommend economy and rigid responsibility in the public expenditures, and a vigorous and just system of taxation: and that it is the duty of every loyal State to sustain the credit and promote the use of the national currency.

11. *Resolved,* That we approve the position taken by the government that the people of the United States can never regard with indifference the attempt of any European power to overthrow by force or to supplant by fraud the institutions of any republican government on the Western Continent, and that they will view with extreme jealousy, as menacing to the peace and independence of their own country, the efforts of any such power to obtain new footholds for monarchical governments, sustained by foreign military force, in near proximity to the United States.

Reply to an Ohio Delegation, June 9, 1864.

Gentlemen: I am very much obliged to you for this compliment. I have just been saying, and will repeat it, that the hardest of all speeches I have to answer is a serenade. I never know what to say on these occasions. I suppose that you have done me this kindness in connection with the action of the Baltimore convention, which has recently taken place, and with which,

of course, I am very well satisfied. What we want, still more than Baltimore conventions or presidential elections, is success under General Grant. I propose that you constantly bear in mind that the support you owe to the brave officers and soldiers in the field is of the very first importance, and we should therefore bend all our energies to that point.

Now, without detaining you any longer, I propose that you help me to close up what I am now saying with three rousing cheers for General Grant and the officers and soldiers under his command.

Reply to a Delegation from the National Union League, June 9, 1864

Gentlemen: I can only say in response to the kind remarks of your chairman, as I suppose, that I am very grateful for the renewed confidence which has been accorded to me both by the convention and by the National League. I am not insensible at all to the personal compliment there is in this, and yet I do not allow myself to believe that any but a small portion of it is to be appropriated as a personal compliment. That really the convention and the Union League assembled with a higher view—that of taking care of the interests of the country for the present and the great future—and that the part

I am entitled to appropriate as a compliment is only that part which I may lay hold of as being the opinion of the convention and of the League, that I am not entirely unworthy to be intrusted with the place which I have occupied for the last three years. But I do not allow myself to suppose that either the convention or the League have concluded to decide that I am either the greatest or best man in America, but rather they have concluded that it is not best to swap horses while crossing the river, and have further concluded that I am not so poor a horse that they might not make a botch of it in trying to swap.

Letter to General W. S. Rosecrans

Executive Mansion, Washington, D. C.,
June 10, 1864.

Major-General Rosecrans: Major John Hay, the bearer, is one of my private secretaries, to whom please communicate, in writing, or verbally, anything you would think proper to say to me.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

Remarks to an Ohio Regiment, June 11, 1864

Soldiers! I understand you have just come from Ohio—come to help us in this, the na-

tion's day of trial, and also of its hopes. I thank you for your promptness in responding to the call for troops. Your services were never needed more than now. I know not where you are going. You may stay here and take the places of those who will be sent to the front, or you may go there yourselves. Wherever you go, I know you will do your best. Again I thank you. Good-by.

Telegram to General W. S. Rosecrans

War Department, Washington, D. C.,
June 13, 1864.

Major-General Rosecrans, St. Louis, Mo.:
The President directs that the archives and papers of the Belgian consulate, alleged to have been taken from the possession of Mr. Hunt, late Belgian consul, by your provost-marshal, be returned to him, and that no proceedings be had against him without orders from this department; that you release him if he be imprisoned, and that you report by telegraph what proceedings, if any, have been had by your provost-marshal, or any other officer under your command, in reference to Mr. Hunt, or the papers and archives of his consulate, and the grounds or causes of such proceedings.

Very truly yours,
Edwin M. Stanton.

Telegram to General L. Thomas

Executive Mansion, June 13, 1864.

Major-General Thomas, Louisville, Ky.: Complaint is made to me that in the vicinity of Henderson, our militia are seizing negroes and carrying them off without their own consent, and according to no rules whatever, except those of absolute violence. I wish you would look into this and inform me, and see that the making soldiers of negroes is done according to the rules you are acting upon, so that unnecessary provocation and irritation be avoided.

A. Lincoln.

*Telegram to T. Webster

Washington, D. C., June 13, 1864.

Thomas Webster, Philadelphia: Will try to leave here Wednesday afternoon, say at 4 P. M. remain till Thursday afternoon and then return. This subject to events. A. Lincoln.

Telegram to General S. G. Burbridge

Washington, D. C., June 14, 1864.

General Burbridge, Lexington, Ky.: Have just read your despatch of action at Cynthiana. Please accept my congratulation and thanks for yourself and command.

A. Lincoln.

Telegram to General U. S. Grant

Washington, June 15, 1864. 7 A. M.

Lieutenant-General Grant, Army of the Potomac: I have just received your despatch of 1 P. M. yesterday. I begin to see it: you will succeed. God bless you all.

A. Lincoln.

Letter to Secretary Chase

Washington, June 15, 1864.

My dear Sir: The governor of Iowa and some of the members of Congress have [given me] a little embarrassment about the removal of a Mr. Atkinson, in your department, and the appointment to the place of a Mr. Sill, I think. They claim a promise, which I know I never made, except upon the condition that you desired the removal of Atkinson. Please help me a little. If you will write me a note that you do not wish Atkinson removed, that will end the matter. On the contrary, if you do wish him removed, or even are indifferent about it, say so to me, accompanying your note with a nomination for Sill. Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

nce'

Speech at a Sanitary Fair in Philadelphia, Pa., June 16, 1864.

I SUPPOSE that this toast was intended to open the way for me to say something.

War, at the best, is terrible, and this war of ours, in its magnitude and in its duration, is one of the most terrible. It has deranged business, totally in many localities, and partially in all localities. It has destroyed property and ruined homes; it has produced a national debt and taxation unprecedented, at least in this country; it has carried mourning to almost every home, until it can almost be said that the "heavens are hung in black."

Yet the war continues, and several relieving coincidents have accompanied it from the very beginning which have not been known, as I understand, or have any knowledge of, in any former wars in the history of the world. The Sanitary Commission, with all its benevolent labors; the Christian Commission, with all its Christian and benevolent labors; and the various places, arrangements, so to speak, and institutions, have contributed to the comfort and relief

of the soldiers. You have two of these places in this city—the Cooper Shop and Union Volunteer Refreshment Saloons. And lastly, these fairs, which, I believe, began only last August, if I mistake not, in Chicago, then at Boston, at Cincinnati, Brooklyn, New York, and Baltimore, and those at present held at St. Louis, Pittsburg, and Philadelphia. The motive and object that lie at the bottom of all these are most worthy; for, say what you will, after all, the most is due to the soldier who takes his life in his hands and goes to fight the battles of his country. In what is contributed to his comfort when he passes to and fro, and in what is contributed to him when he is sick and wounded, in whatever shape it comes, whether from the fair and tender hand of woman, or from any other source, it is much, very much. But I think that there is still that which is of as much value to him in the continual reminders he sees in the newspapers that while he is absent he is yet remembered by the loved ones at home. Another view of these various institutions, if I may so call them, is worthy of consideration, I think. They are voluntary contributions, given zealously and earnestly, on top of all the disturbances of business, of all the disorders, of all the taxation, and of all the burdens that the war has imposed upon us, giving proof that the national resources are

not at all exhausted, and that the national spirit of patriotism is even firmer and stronger than at the commencement of the war.

It is a pertinent question, often asked in the mind privately, and from one to the other, when is the war to end? Surely I feel as deep an interest in this question as any other can; but I do not wish to name a day, a month, or year, when it is to end. I do not wish to run any risk of seeing the time come without our being ready for the end, for fear of disappointment because the time had come and not the end. We accepted this war for an object, a worthy object, and the war will end when that object is attained. Under God, I hope it never will end until that time. Speaking of the present campaign, General Grant is reported to have said, "I am going through on this line if it takes all summer." This war has taken three years; it was begun or accepted upon the line of restoring the national authority over the whole national domain, and for the American people, as far as my knowledge enables me to speak, I say we are going through on this line if it takes three years more.

My friends, I did not know but that I might be called upon to say a few words before I got away from here, but I did not know it was coming just here. I have never been in the habit of

making predictions in regard to the war, but I am almost tempted to make one. If I were to hazard it, it is this: That Grant is this evening, with General Meade and General Hancock, and the brave officers and soldiers with him, in a position from whence he will never be dislodged until Richmond is taken; and I have but one single proposition to put now, and perhaps I can best put it in the form of an interrogative. If I shall discover that General Grant and the noble officers and men under him can be greatly facilitated in their work by a sudden pouring forward of men and assistance, will you give them to me? Are you ready to march? [Cries of "Yes."] Then I say, Stand ready, for I am watching for the chance. I thank you, gentlemen.

Letter to Lyman Trumbull.

Executive Mansion, June 17, 1864.

My dear Sir: Yours relative to reorganization of a State government for Arkansas, is received. I believe none of the departments have had anything to do with it. All that has been done within the range you mention is embraced in an informal letter and telegraphic correspondence between parties there and myself, copies of which I have already furnished to Mr. Dawes of the House of Representatives for the object corresponding to yours.

It will save labor and oblige me if you will procure him to show you them. I believe you will find mentioned a proclamation of General Steele, no copy of which is with the correspondence. The reason is, I could not find it. If, after reading this, it still would be more satisfactory to you to have copies for yourself, let me know, and I will have them made out as soon as I reasonably can. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

*RECOMMENDATION OF A NEWSPAPER, June 18, 1864

The "Journal" paper was always my friend; and, of course its editors the same. If there is any special reason why it should not have a share of the advertising I do not know it.

A. LINCOLN.

*TELEGRAM TO C. A. WALBORN

WASHINGTON, June 18, 1864.

C. A. Walborn, Post Master, Philadelphia: Please come and see me in the next day or two.

A. LINCOLN.

*TELEGRAM TO MRS. LINCOLN

WAR DEPARTMENT, June 19, 1864.

Mrs. A. Lincoln, New York: Tad arrived safely and all well. A. LINCOLN.

Draft of Letter to Governor Brough and General S. P. Heintzelman—Not Sent

Executive Mansion, June 20, 1864.

Gov. Brough and Gen. Heintzelman: Both of you have official responsibility as to the United States military in Ohio, and generally—one in organizing and furnishing, the other in directing, commanding, and forwarding. Consult together freely, watch Vallandigham and others closely, and upon discovering any palpable injury or imminent danger to the military proceeding from him, them, or any of them, arrest all implicated; otherwise do not arrest without further order. Meanwhile report the signs to me from time to time.

Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

Memorandum of an Interview with the Postmaster of Philadelphia, June 20, 1864

What I said to Postmaster of Philadelphia on this day—June 20, 1864:

Complaint is made to me that you are using your official power to defeat Judge Kelley's renomination to Congress.

I am well satisfied with Judge Kelley as a member of Congress, and I do not know that the man who might supplant him would be as satisfactory; but the correct principle, I think, is

that all our friends should have absolute freedom of choice among our friends. My wish, therefore, is that you will do just as you think fit with your own suffrage in the case, and not constrain any of your subordinates to do other than as he thinks fit with his.

This is precisely the rule I inculcated and adhered to on my part when a certain other nomination now recently made was being canvassed for.

Letter to Attorney-General Bates

Executive Mansion, June 24, 1864.

Sir: By authority of the Constitution, and moved thereto by the fourth section of the act of Congress, entitled "An act making appropriations for the support of the army for the year ending the thirtieth of June, eighteen hundred and sixty-five, and for other purposes, approved June 15, 1864," I require your opinion in writing as to what pay, bounty, and clothing are allowed by law to persons of color who were free on the nineteenth day of April, 1861, and who have been enlisted and mustered into the military service of the United States between the month of December, 1862, and the sixteenth of June, 1864.

Please answer as you would do, on my requirement, if the act of June 15, 1864, had not been

passed, and I will so use your opinion as to satisfy your act. Your obedient servant,

A. LINCOLN.

TELEGRAM TO MRS. LINCOLN

EXECUTIVE MANSION, June 24, 1864.

Mrs. A. Lincoln, Boston, Mass.: All well and very warm. Tad and I have been to General Grant's army. Returned yesterday safe and sound. A. LINCOLN.

TELEGRAM TO GENERAL W. S. ROSECRANS

WASHINGTON, June 24, 1864.

Major-General Rosecrans, St. Louis, Mo.: Complaint is made to me that General Brown does not do his best to suppress bushwackers. Please ascertain and report to me.

A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO THE PAYMASTER-GENERAL

EXECUTIVE MANSION, June 25, 1864.

Paymaster-General: I am so frequently called on by persons in behalf of paymasters who have already served a long time in the South, for leave to come North, as to induce me to inquire whether there might not, without much inconvenience, be a rule of exchanges which would be fair to all, and keep none so long in an uncongenial climate as to much endanger health.

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

Letter to William Cullen Bryant

Executive Mansion, June 27, 1864.

My dear Sir: Yours of the twenty-fifth has just been handed me by the Secretary of the Navy. The tone of the letter, rather than any direct statement in it, impresses me as a complaint that Mr. Henderson should have been removed from office, and arrested; coupled with the single suggestion that he be restored if he shall establish his innocence.

I know absolutely nothing of the case except as follows: Monday last, Mr. Welles came to me with the letter of dismissal already written, saying he thought proper to show it to me before sending it. I asked him the charges, which he stated in a general way. With as much emphasis as I could, I said: "Are you entirely certain of his guilt?" He answered that he was, to which I replied: "Then send the letter."

Whether Mr. Henderson was a supporter of my second nomination, I neither knew nor inquired, nor even thought of. I shall be very glad indeed if he shall, as you anticipate, establish his innocence; or, to state it more strongly and properly, "if the government shall fail to establish his guilt." I believe, however, the man who made the affidavit was of as spotless reputation as Mr. Henderson, until he was ar-

rested on what his friends insist was outrageously insufficient evidence. I know the entire city government of Washington, with many other respectable citizens, appealed to me in his behalf as a greatly injured gentleman.

While the subject is up, may I ask whether the "Evening Post" has not assailed me for supposed too lenient dealing with persons charged with fraud and crime? And that in cases of which the "Post" could know but little of the facts? I shall certainly deal as leniently with Mr. Henderson as I have felt it my duty to deal with others, notwithstanding any newspaper assaults. Your obedient servant,

A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO WILLIAM DENNISON AND OTHERS ACCEPTING THE RENOMINATION FOR PRESIDENT

EXECUTIVE MANSION, June 27, 1864.

Gentlemen: Your letter of the 14th instant formally notifying me that I have been nominated by the convention you represent for the Presidency of the United States for four years from the fourth of March next has been received. The nomination is gratefully accepted, as the resolutions of the convention, called the platform, are heartily approved. While the resolution in regard to the supplanting of republi-

can government upon the western continent is fully concurred in, there might be misunderstanding were I not to say that the position of the government in relation to the action of France in Mexico, as assumed through the State Department and approved and indorsed by the convention among the measures and acts of the executive, will be faithfully maintained so long as the state of facts shall leave that position pertinent and applicable. I am especially gratified that the soldier and the seaman were not forgotten by the convention, as they forever must and will be remembered by the grateful country for whose salvation they devote their lives.

Thanking you for the kind and complimentary terms in which you have communicated the nomination and other proceedings of the convention, I subscribe myself,

Your obedient servant,

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

LETTERS TO SECRETARY CHASE

EXECUTIVE MANSION, June 28, 1864.

My dear Sir: Yours, inclosing a blank nomination for Maunsell B. Field to be assistant treasurer at New York, was received yesterday. I cannot, without much embarrassment, make this appointment, principally because of Senator Morgan's very firm opposition to it. Senator

Harris has not spoken to me on the subject, though I understand he is not averse to the appointment of Mr. Field, nor yet to any one of the three named by Senator Morgan, rather preferring of them, however, Mr. Hillhouse. Governor Morgan tells me he has mentioned the three names to you, to wit: R. M. Blatchford, Dudley S. Gregory, and Thomas Hillhouse. It will really oblige me if you will make choice among these three, or any other man that Senators Morgan and Harris will be satisfied with, and send me a nomination for him.

Yours truly A. LINCOLN.

(*Private.*)

EXECUTIVE MANSION, June 28, 1864.

My dear Sir: When I received your note this forenoon suggesting a verbal conversation in relation to the appointment of a successor to Mr. Cisco, I hesitated, because the difficulty does not, in the main part, lie within the range of a conversation between you and me. As the proverb goes, no man knows so well where the shoe pinches as he who wears it. I do not think Mr. Field a very proper man for the place, but I would trust your judgment and forego this were the greater difficulty out of the way. Much as I personally like Mr. Barney, it has been a great burden to me to retain him in his place when

nearly all our friends in New York were directly or indirectly urging his removal. Then the appointment of Judge Hogeboom to be general appraiser brought me to, and has ever since kept me at, the verge of open revolt. Now the appointment of Mr. Field would precipitate me in it unless Senator Morgan and those feeling as he does, could be brought to concur in it. Strained as I already am at this point, I do not think I can make this appointment in the direction of still greater strain.

The testimonials of Mr. Field, with your accompanying notes, were duly received, and I am now waiting to see your answer from Mr. Cisco.

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO GENERAL F. STEELE

EXECUTIVE MANSION, June 29, 1864.

Major-General Steele: I understand that Congress declines to admit to seats the persons sent as senators and representatives from Arkansas. These persons apprehend that, in consequence, you may not support the new State government there as you otherwise would. My wish is that you give that government and the people there the same support and protection that you would if the members had been admitted, because in no event, nor in any view of the case, can this do any harm, while it will be the

best you can do toward suppressing the rebellion. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

*TELEGRAM TO GENERAL U. S. GRANT

EXECUTIVE MANSION, June 29, 1864.

Lieutenant-General Grant, City Point: Dr. Worster wishes to visit you with a view of getting your permission to introduce into the army "Harmon's Sandal Sock." Shall I give him a pass for that object? A. LINCOLN.

TELEGRAM TO MRS. LINCOLN

WASHINGTON, D. C., June 29, 1864.

Mrs. A. Lincoln, New York: All well. Tom is moving things out. A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO SECRETARY CHASE [1]

EXECUTIVE MANSION, June 30, 1864.

My dear Sir: Your resignation of the office of Secretary of the Treasury sent me yesterday is accepted. Of all I have said in commendation

[1] Ignominious withdrawal from his hopeless contest for the Presidency augmented Secretary Chase's bitterness toward Lincoln. His position in public service became intolerable and he sent in his resignation. He had done so before on more than one occasion and had been persuaded to retract, but this time his resignation came when circumstances would permit of nothing but Lincoln accepting it. Lincoln appointed David Tod, a citizen of Chase's State, but he declined on the ground of ill-health. William P. Fessenden was next nominated for the office and appointed July 1, 1864.

of your ability and fidelity I have nothing to unsay; and yet you and I have reached a point of mutual embarrassment in our official relations which it seems cannot be overcome or longer sustained consistently with the public service.

Your obedient servant, A. LINCOLN.

TELEGRAM TO DAVID TOD

EXECUTIVE MANSION, June 30, 1864.

Hon. David Tod, Youngstown, Ohio: I have nominated you to be Secretary of the Treasury, in place of Governor Chase, who has resigned. Please come without a moment's delay.

A. LINCOLN.

TELEGRAM TO JUDGE S. H. TREAT

WASHINGTON, D. C., July 2, 1864.

Hon. S. H. Treat, Springfield, Ill.: Please give me a summary of the evidence with your impressions, on the Coles County riot cases. I send the same request to Judge Davis.

A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO JOHN L. SCRIPPS

EXECUTIVE MANSION, July 4, 1864.

Dear Sir: Complaint is made to me that you are using your official power to defeat Mr. Arnold's nomination to Congress. I am well satisfied with Mr. Arnold as a member of Congress,

and I do not know that the man who might supplant him would be as satisfactory; but the correct principle, I think, is that all our friends should have absolute freedom of choice among our friends. My wish, therefore, is that you will do just as you think fit with your own suffrage in the case, and not constrain any of your subordinates to [do] other than [as] he thinks fit with his. This is precisely the rule I inculcated and adhered to on my part, when a certain other nomination, now recently made, was being canvassed for. Yours very truly,

A. LINCOLN.

TELEGRAM TO J. W. GARRETT

[WASHINGTON], July 5, 1864.

J. W. Garrett, President [B. & O. R. R.]: You say telegraphic communication is reëstablished with Sandy Hook. Well, what does Sandy Hook say about operations of enemy and of Sigel during to-day? A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO GOVERNOR SEYMOUR

WAR DEPARTMENT, July 5, 1864.

Hon. Horatio Seymour: The President directs me to inform you that a rebel force, variously estimated at from fifteen to twenty thousand men, have invaded the State of Maryland, and have taken Martinsburg and Harper's

Ferry, and are threatening other points; that the public safety requires him to call upon the State executives for a militia force to repel this invasion. He therefore directs me to call on you for a militia force of 12,000 men from your State to serve not more than one hundred days, and to request that you will with the utmost despatch forward the troops to Washington by rail or steamboat as may be most expeditious.

Please favor me with an answer at your earliest convenience.

EDWIN M. STANTON, Secretary of War.

Proclamation suspending Writ of *Habeas Corpus*, July 5, 1864

By the President of the United States of America:

A Proclamation.

WHEREAS, by a proclamation which was issued on the fifteenth day of April, 1861, the President of the United States announced and declared that the laws of the United States had been for some time past, and then were, opposed, and the execution thereof obstructed, in certain States herein mentioned, by combinations too powerful to be suppressed by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings, or by the powers vested in the marshals by law;

And whereas, immediately after the issuing of the said proclamation, the land and naval forces of the United States were put into activity to suppress the said insurrection and rebellion;

And whereas the Congress of the United States, by an act approved on the third day of March, 1863, did enact that during the said rebellion the President of the United States, when-

ever in his judgment the public safety may require it, is authorized to suspend the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* in any case throughout the United States, or in any part thereof;

And whereas the said insurrection and rebellion still continue, endangering the existence of the Constitution and government of the United States;

And whereas the military forces of the United States are now actively engaged in suppressing the said insurrection and rebellion in various parts of the States where the said rebellion has been successful in obstructing the laws and public authorities, especially in the States of Virginia and Georgia;

And whereas, on the fifteenth day of September last, the President of the United States duly issued his proclamation, wherein he declared that the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* should be suspended throughout the United States in the cases where, by the authority of the President of the United States, military, naval, and civil officers of the United States, or any of them, hold persons under their command or in their custody, either as prisoners of war, spies, or aiders or abettors of the enemy, or officers, soldiers, or seamen, enrolled or drafted or mustered or enlisted in, or belonging to, the land

or naval forces of the United States, or as deserters therefrom, or otherwise amenable to military law or the rules and articles of war, or the rules or regulations prescribed for the military or naval services by authority of the President of the United States, or for resisting a draft or for any other offense against the military or naval services;

And whereas many citizens of the State of Kentucky have joined the forces of the insurgents, and such insurgents have, on several occasions, entered the State of Kentucky in large force, and not without aid and comfort furnished by disaffected and disloyal citizens of the United States residing therein, have not only disturbed the public peace, but have overborne the civil authorities and made flagrant civil war, destroying property and life in various parts of that State;

And whereas it has been made known to the President of the United States by the officers commanding the national armies, that combinations have been formed in the said State of Kentucky with a purpose of inciting rebel forces to renew the said operations of civil war within the said State, and thereby to embarrass the United States armies now operating in the said States of Virginia and Georgia, and even to endanger their safety:

Now, therefore, I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, by virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution and laws, do hereby declare that, in my judgment, the public safety especially requires that the suspension of the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus,* so proclaimed in the said proclamation of the fifteenth of September, 1863, be made effectual and be duly enforced in and throughout the said State of Kentucky, and that martial law be for the present established therein. I do, therefore, hereby require of the military officers in the said State that the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* be effectually suspended within the said State according to the aforesaid proclamation, and that martial law be established therein, to take effect from the date of this proclamation, the said suspension and establishment of martial law to continue until this proclamation shall be revoked or modified, but not beyond the period when the said rebellion shall have been suppressed or come to an end. And I do hereby require and command, as well all military officers as all civil officers and authorities existing or found within the said State of Kentucky, to take notice of this proclamation, and to give full effect to the same.

The martial law herein proclaimed, and the things in that respect herein ordered, will not

be deemed or taken to interfere with the holding of lawful elections, or with the proceedings of the constitutional legislature of Kentucky, or with the administration of justice in the courts of law existing therein between the citizens of the United States in suits or proceedings which do not affect the military operations or the constituted authorities of the government of the United States.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand, and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington, this fifth day of July, in the year of our [L. S.] Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-four, and of the independence of the United States the eighty-ninth.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

By the President: WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Secretary of State.

INDORSEMENT ABOUT MEMPHIS CHURCH, July 5, 1864[1]

The President declines making any further order in the case of the Presbyterian Church in Memphis.

[1] The military had taken possession of the church and had apparently refused to obey the President's order to give it up. The indorsement was in effect a peremptory requirement to do so.

Proclamation for a Day of Prayer, July 7, 1864 [1]

By the President of the United States of America:

A Proclamation.

Whereas the Senate and House of Representatives, at their last session, adopted a concurrent resolution, which was approved on the second day of July instant, and which was in the words following, namely:

That the President of the United States be requested to appoint a day for humiliation and prayer by the people of the United States; that he request his constitutional advisers at the head of the executive departments to unite with him as chief magistrate of the nation, at the city of Washington, and the members of Congress, and all magistrates, all civil, military, and naval officers, all soldiers, sailors, and marines, with all loyal and law-abiding people, to convene at their usual places of worship, or wherever they may be, to confess and to repent of their manifold sins; to implore the compassion and forgiveness of the Almighty, that, if consistent with his will, the existing rebellion may be speedily suppressed, and the supremacy of the Constitution and laws of the United

[1] From the day of his election the President was animated by a profound conviction: "If we do right God will be with us, and if God is with us we cannot fail.

States may be established throughout all the States; to implore him, as the supreme ruler of the world, not to destroy us as a people, nor suffer us to be destroyed by the hostility or the connivance of other nations, or by obstinate adhesion to our own counsels which may be in conflict with his eternal purposes, and to implore him to enlighten the mind of the nation to know and do his will, humbly believing that it is in accordance with his will that our place should be maintained as a united people among the family of nations; to implore him to grant to our armed defenders and the masses of the people that courage, power of resistance, and endurance necessary to secure that result; to implore him in his infinite goodness to soften the hearts, enlighten the minds, and quicken the consciences of those in rebellion, that they may lay down their arms and speedily return to their allegiance to the United States, that they may not be utterly destroyed, that the effusion of blood may be stayed, and that unity and fraternity may be restored, and peace established throughout all our borders:

Now, therefore, I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, cordially concurring with the Congress of the United States in the penitential and pious sentiments expressed in the aforesaid resolutions, and heartily approving of the devotional design and purpose thereof, do hereby appoint the first Thursday of August next to be observed by the people of the United

States as a day of national humiliation and prayer.

I do hereby further invite and request the heads of the executive departments of this government, together with all legislators, all judges and magistrates, and all other persons exercising authority in the land, whether civil, military, or naval, and all soldiers, seamen, and marines in the national service, and all the other loyal and law-abiding people of the United States, to assemble in their preferred places of public worship on that day, and there and then to render to the almighty and merciful Ruler of the universe such homages and such confessions, and to offer to him such supplications, as the Congress of the United States have, in their aforesaid resolution, so solemnly, so earnestly, and so reverently recommended.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand, and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington, this seventh day of July, in the year of our
[L. S.] Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-four, and of the independence of the United States the eighty-ninth.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

By the President: WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Secretary of State.

Proclamation Concerning Reconstruction, July 8, 1864

By the President of the United States of America:

A Proclamation.

Whereas, at the late session, Congress passed a bill to "guarantee to certain States, whose governments have been usurped or overthrown, a republican form of government," a copy of which is hereunto annexed;

And whereas the said bill was presented to the President of the United States for his approval less than one hour before the *sine die* adjournment of said session, and was not signed by him;

And whereas the said bill contains, among other things, a plan for restoring the States in rebellion to their proper practical relation in the Union, which plan expresses the sense of Congress upon that subject, and which plan it is now thought fit to lay before the people for their consideration:

Now, therefore, I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, do proclaim, declare, and make known, that, while I am (as I was in December last, when by proclamation I propounded a plan for restoration) unprepared, by a formal approval of this bill, to be inflexibly

committed to any single plan of restoration; and, while I am also unprepared to declare that the free-State constitutions and governments already adopted and installed in Arkansas and Louisiana shall be set aside and held for nought, thereby repelling and discouraging the loyal citizens who have set up the same as to further effort, or to declare a constitutional competency in Congress to abolish slavery in States, but am at the same time sincerely hoping and expecting that a constitutional amendment abolishing slavery throughout the nation may be adopted, nevertheless I am fully satisfied with the system for restoration contained in the bill as one very proper plan for the loyal people of any State choosing to adopt it, and that I am, and at all times shall be, prepared to give the executive aid and assistance to any such people, so soon as the military resistance to the United States shall have been suppressed in any such State, and the people thereof shall have sufficiently returned to their obedience to the Constitution and the laws of the United States, in which cases military governors will be appointed, with directions to proceed according to the bill.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand, and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington, this eighth

day of July, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-four, and of the independence of the United States the eighty-ninth.

[L. S.] ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

By the President: WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Secretary of State.

LETTER TO HORACE GREELEY

WASHINGTON, D. C., July 9, 1864.

Dear Sir: Your letter of the 7th, with inclosures, received.

If you can find any person, anywhere, professing to have any proposition of Jefferson Davis in writing, for peace, embracing the restoration of the Union and abandonment of slavery, whatever else it embraces, say to him he may come to me with you; and that if he really brings such proposition, he shall at the least have safe conduct with the paper (and without publicity, if he chooses) to the point where you shall have met him. The same if there be two or more persons. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

TELEGRAM TO J. W. GARRETT

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, D. C.,
July 9, 1864.

J. W. Garrett, Camden Station: What have

you heard about a battle at Monocacy to-day? We have nothing about it here except what you say.

A. LINCOLN.

TELEGRAM TO GENERAL WALLACE

WASHINGTON, July 9, 1864. 11.57 P. M.

Major-General L. Wallace: I am directed by the President to say that you will rally your forces and make every possible effort to retard the enemy's march on Baltimore.

H. W. HALLECK,
Major-General and Chief of Staff.

TELEGRAM TO T. SWAN AND OTHERS

WASHINGTON, D. C., July 10, 1864. 9.20 A. M.

Thomas Swan and Others, Baltimore, Md.: Yours of last night received. I have not a single soldier but whom is being disposed by the military for the best protection of all. By latest accounts the enemy is moving on Washington. They cannot fly to either place. Let us be vigilant, but keep cool. I hope neither Baltimore nor Washington will be sacked.

A. LINCOLN.

TELEGRAMS TO GENERAL U. S. GRANT

WASHINGTON CITY, July 10, 1864. 2 P. M.

Lieutenant-General Grant, City Point, Va.: Your despatch to General Halleck, referring to

what I may think in the present emergency, is shown me. General Halleck says we have absolutely no force here fit to go to the field. He thinks that with the hundred-day men and invalids we have here we can defend Washington, and, scarcely, Baltimore. Besides these there are about 8,000, not very reliable, under Howe, at Harper's Ferry, with Hunter approaching that point very slowly, with what number I suppose you know better than I. Wallace, with some odds and ends, and part of what came up with Ricketts, was so badly beaten yesterday at Monocacy, that what is left can attempt no more than to defend Baltimore. What we shall get in from Pennsylvania and New York will scarcely be worth counting, I fear. Now, what I think is, that you should provide to retain your hold where you are, certainly, and bring the rest with you personally, and make a vigorous effort to destroy the enemy's forces in this vicinity. I think there is really a fair chance to do this, if the movement is prompt. This is what I think upon your suggestion, and is not an order.

A. LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, July 11, 1864. 8 A. M.

Lieutenant-General Grant, City Point, Va.:
Yours of 10:30 P. M. yesterday received, and very satisfactory. The enemy will learn of Wright's

arrival, and then the difficulty will be to unite Wright and Hunter south of the enemy before he will recross the Potomac. Some firing between Rockville and here now. A. LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, D. C., July 12, 1864. 11.30 A. M.

Lieutenant-General Grant, City Point, Va.: Vague rumors have been reaching us for two or three days that Longstreet's corps is also on its way [to] this vicinity. Look out for its absence from your front. A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO SECRETARY STANTON

EXECUTIVE MANSION, July 14, 1864.

Sir: Your note of to-day inclosing General Halleck's letter of yesterday relative to offensive remarks supposed to have been made by the Postmaster-General concerning the military officers on duty about Washington is received. The general's letter in substance demands of me that if I approve the remarks I shall strike the names of those officers from the rolls; and that if I do not approve them the Postmaster-General shall be dismissed from the Cabinet.

Whether the remarks were really made I do not know, nor do I suppose such knowledge is necessary to a correct response. If they were made, I do not approve them; and yet, under the circumstances, I would not dismiss a mem-

ber of the Cabinet therefor. I do not consider what may have been hastily said in a moment of vexation at so severe a loss is sufficient ground for so grave a step. Besides this, truth is generally the best vindication against slander. I propose continuing to be myself the judge as to when a member of the Cabinet shall be dismissed. Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

MEMORANDUM READ TO THE CABINET, July [14?], 1864

I must myself be the judge how long to retain in and when to remove any of you from his position. It would greatly pain me to discover any of you endeavoring to procure another's removal, or in any way to prejudice him before the public. Such endeavor would be a wrong to me, and, much worse, a wrong to the country. My wish is that on this subject no remark be made nor question asked by any of you, here or elsewhere, now or hereafter.

TELEGRAM AND LETTER TO HORACE GREELEY

EXECUTIVE MANSION, July 15, 1864.

Hon. Horace Greeley, New York: I suppose you received my letter of the 9th. I have just received yours of the 13th, and am disappointed by it. I was not expecting you to send me a letter, but to bring me a man, or men. Mr. Hay

goes to you with my answer to yours of the 13th.

A. LINCOLN.

[*Carried by Major John Hay.*]

EXECUTIVE MANSION, July 15, 1864.

My dear Sir: Yours of the 13th is just received, and I am disappointed that you have not already reached here with those commissioners, if they would consent to come on being shown my letter to you of the 9th instant. Show that and this to them, and if they will come on the terms stated in the former, bring them. I not only intend a sincere effort for peace, but I intend that you shall be a personal witness that it is made. Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

TELEGRAM TO MAJOR JOHN HAY

EXECUTIVE MANSION, July 16, 1864.

John Hay, New York: Yours received. Write the safe-conduct, as you propose, without waiting for one by mail from me. If there is or is not anything in the affair, I wish to know it without unnecessary delay. A. LINCOLN.

SAFE-CONDUCT FOR C. C. CLAY AND OTHERS, July 16, 1864

EXECUTIVE MANSION, July 16, 1864.

The President of the United States directs that the four persons whose names follow, to

wit: Hon. Clement C. Clay, Hon. Jacob Thompson, Prof. James B. Holcombe, George N. Sanders, shall have safe conduct to the city of Washington in company with the Hon. Horace Greeley, and shall be exempt from arrest or annoyance of any kind from any officer of the United States during their journey to the said city of Washington.

By order of the President.

JOHN HAY, Major and A. A. G.

TELEGRAM TO GENERAL U. S. GRANT

[WASHINGTON], July 17, 1864. 11.25 A. M.

Lieutenant-General Grant, City Point, Va.:

In your despatch of yesterday to General Sherman, I find the following, to wit:

"I shall make a desperate effort to get a position here, which will hold the enemy without the necessity of so many men."

Pressed as we are by lapse of time I am glad to hear you say this; and yet I do hope you may find a way that the effort shall not be desperate in the sense of great loss of life.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN, President.

TELEGRAM TO GENERAL D. HUNTER, July 17, 1864

[WASHINGTON], July 17, 1864.

Major-General Hunter, Harper's Ferry,

West Va.: Yours of this morning received. You misconceive. The order you complain of was only nominally mine, and was framed by those who really made it with no thought of making you a scapegoat. It seemed to be General Grant's wish that the forces under General Wright and those under you should join and drive at the enemy under General Wright. Wright had the larger part of the force, but you had the rank. It was thought that you would prefer Crook's commanding your part to your serving in person under Wright. That is all of it. General Grant wishes you to remain in command of the department, and I do not wish to order otherwise. A. LINCOLN.

ANNOUNCEMENT CONCERNING TERMS OF PEACE

EXECUTIVE MANSION, July 18, 1864.

To whom it may concern: Any proposition which embraces the restoration of peace, the integrity of the whole Union, and the abandonment of slavery, and which comes by and with an authority that can control the armies now at war against the United States, will be received and considered by the executive government of the United States, and will be met by liberal terms on other substantial and collateral points, and the bearer or bearers thereof shall have safe conduct both ways. ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

* Letter to Colonel Frank Wolford

Executive Mansion, Washington, D. C.,
July 17, 1864.

My dear Sir: By this mail I send to Hon. John Speed a blank parole in duplicate, which, if you choose, you can sign and be discharged. He will call upon you. I inclose a printed copy of the letter I read to you the last day you were with me, and which I shall be pleased for you to look over.

Yours respectfully,
A. Lincoln.

The blank parole mentioned in this note is as follows:

July, 1864.

I do hereby pledge my honor that I will neither do nor say anything which will directly or indirectly tend to hinder, delay, or embarrass the employment and use of colored persons as soldiers, seamen, or otherwise, in the suppression of the existing rebellion so long as the United States Government chooses so to employ and use them.

This document in blank bore the following indorsement:

Colonel Frank Wolford is discharged from his parole given me July 7, 1864, and allowed

to go at large upon the conditions of the parole by him signed on the other side of this paper.

A. LINCOLN.

Proclamation calling for 500,000 Volunteers, July 18, 1864 [1]

By the President of the United States of America:

A Proclamation.

WHEREAS, by the act approved July 4, 1864, entitled "An act further to regulate and provide for the enrolling and calling out the national forces, and for other purposes," it is provided that the President of the United States may, "at his discretion, at any time hereafter, call for any number of men as volunteers, for the respective terms of one, two, and three years, for military service," and "that in case the quota, or any part thereof, of any town, township, ward of a city, precinct, or election district, or of a county not so subdivided, shall not be filled within the space of fifty days after such call, then the President shall imme-

[1] There had been great loss of life in the operation against Richmond. Grant needed men. At this call for more volunteers, realization of the awful sacrifice of life going on came over the country and resulted in almost unanimous dissatisfaction. It was a crucial moment for Lincoln, as his reëlection hung upon the conduct and course of the war during the summer of '64.

diately order a draft for one year to fill such quota, or any part thereof, which may be unfilled."

And whereas the new enrolment heretofore ordered is so far completed as that the aforementioned act of Congress may now be put in operation for recruiting and keeping up the strength of the armies in the field, for garrisons and such military operations as may be required for the purpose of suppressing the rebellion and restoring the authority of the United States Government in the insurgent States:

Now, therefore, I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, do issue this my call for 500,000 volunteers for the military service; provided, nevertheless, that this call shall be reduced by all credits which may be established under Section 8 of the aforesaid act, on account of persons who have entered the naval service during the present rebellion, and by credits for men furnished to the military service in excess of calls heretofore made. Volunteers will be accepted under this call for one, two, or three years, as they may elect, and will be entitled to the bounty provided by the law for the period of service for which they enlist.

And I hereby proclaim, order, and direct, that immediately after the fifth day of September, 1864, being fifty days from the date of this

call, a draft for troops to serve for one year shall be had in every town, township, ward of a city, precinct or election district, or county not so subdivided, to fill the quota which shall be assigned to it under this call, or any part thereof which may be unfilled by volunteers on the said fifth day of September, 1864.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington, this eighteenth day of July, in the year of
[L. S.] our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-four, and of the independence of the United States the eighty-ninth.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

By the President: WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Secretary of State.

TELEGRAM TO GENERAL W. T. SHERMAN

EXECUTIVE MANSION, July 18, 1864.

Major-General Sherman, Chattahoochee River, Ga.: I have seen your despatches, objecting to agents of Northern States opening recruiting stations near your camps.

An act of Congress authorizes this, giving the appointment of agents to the States, and not to the executive government. It is not for the War Department or myself to restrain or modify

the law in its execution further than actual necessity may require.

To be candid, I was for the passage of the law, not apprehending at the time that it would produce such inconvenience to the armies in the field, as you now cause me to fear. Many of the States were very anxious for it, and I hoped that, with their State bounties, and active exertions, they would get out substantial additions to our colored forces, which, unlike white recruits, help us where they come from, as well as where they go to. I still hope advantage from the law; and, being a law, it must be treated as such by all of us.

We here will do what we consistently can to save you from difficulties arising out of it.

May I ask therefore that you will give your hearty coöperation?

A. LINCOLN

TELEGRAM TO GENERAL U. S. GRANT

EXECUTIVE MANSION, July 20, 1864. 4.30 P. M.

Lieutenant-General Grant, City Point, Va.:

Yours of yesterday, about a call for 300,000, is received. I suppose you had not seen the call for 500,000, made the day before, and which, I suppose, covers the case. Always glad to have your suggestions.

A. LINCOLN.

* Telegram to J. L. Wright

War Department, July 20, 1864.

J. L. Wright, Indianapolis, Ind.: All a mistake. Mr. Stanton has not resigned.

A. Lincoln.

Letter to J. L. Scripps

Executive Mansion, July 20, 1864.

My dear Sir: I have received and read yours of the 15th. Mine to you was only a copy, with names changed, of what I had said to another postmaster, on a similar complaint; and the two are the only cases in which that precise complaint has, as yet, been made to me. I think that in these cases I have stated the principle correctly for all public officers, and I certainly wish all would follow it. But I do not quite like to publish a general circular on the subject, and it would be rather laborious to write a separate letter to each. Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

Letter to O. B. Ficklin

Executive Mansion, July 22, 1864.

Dear Sir: I had about concluded to send the Coles County men home, turning over the indicted to the authorities and discharging the others, when Colonel Oaks's report with the evi-

dence he had taken in the case was put in my hand. The evidence is very voluminous, and Colonel Oaks says it fully implicates every one of the sixteen now held; and so far as I have been able to look into it his statement is sustained. I cannot now decide the case until I shall have fully examined this evidence.

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

REPLY TO COMMANDER BERTINATTI, ITALIAN ENVOY EXTRAORDINARY, ETC., July 23, 1864

Mr. Commander Bertinatti: I am free to confess that the United States have in the course of the last three years encountered vicissitudes and been involved in controversies which have tried the friendship and even the forbearance of other nations, but at no stage in this unhappy fraternal war in which we are only endeavoring to save and strengthen the foundations of our national unity has the king or the people of Italy faltered in addressing to us the language of respect, confidence, and friendship. We have tried you, Mr. Bertinatti, as a chargé d'affaires and as a minister resident, and in both of these characters we have found you always sincerely and earnestly interpreting the loyal sentiments of your sovereign. At the same time I am sure that no minister here has more faithfully maintained and advanced the interests with which he

was charged by his government. I desire that your countrymen may know that I think you have well deserved the elevation to which I owe the pleasure of the present interview.

I pray God to have your country in his holy keeping, and to vouchsafe to crown with success her noble aspirations to renew, under the auspices of her present enlightened government, her ancient career, so wonderfully illustrated in the achievements of art, science, and freedom.

Telegram to General D. Hunter

(*Cipher.*)

War Department, July 23, 1864.

Major-General Hunter, Harper's Ferry, West Va.: Are you able to take care of the enemy, when he turns back upon you, as he probably will on finding that Wright has left?

A. Lincoln.

Letter to Abram Wakeman

(*Private.*)

Executive Mansion, July 25, 1864.

My dear Sir: I feel that the subject which you pressed upon my attention in our recent conversation is an important one. The men of the South recently (and perhaps still) at Niagara Falls tell us distinctly that they *are* in the confidential employment of the rebellion; and they

tell us as distinctly that they are *not* empowered to offer terms of peace. Does any one doubt that what they *are* empowered to do is to assist in selecting and arranging a candidate and a platform for the Chicago convention? Who could have given them this confidential employment but he who, only a week since, declared to Jaquess and Gilmore, that he had no terms of peace but the independence of the South—the dissolution of the Union? Thus, the present presidential contest will almost certainly be no other than a contest between a union and a disunion candidate, disunion certainly following the success of the latter. The issue is a mighty one, for all people, and all times; and whoever aids the right will be appreciated and remembered. Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

* LETTER TO GOVERNOR A. G. CURTIN

EXECUTIVE MANSION, July 25, 1864.

Governor Curtin: Herewith is the manuscript letter for the gentleman who sent me a cane through your hands. For my life I can not make out his name; and therefore I cut it from his letter and pasted it on, as you see. I suppose [you] will remember who he is, and I will thank you to forward him the letter. He dates his letter at Philadelphia.

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

* Letter to W. O. Snider

Executive Mansion, July 25, 1864.

William O. Snider: The cane you did me the honor to present through Governor Curtin was duly placed in my hand by him. Please accept my thanks; and, at the same time, pardon me for not having sooner found time to tender them. Your obedient servant,

A. Lincoln.

Letter to General E. R. S. Canby

Washington, D. C., July 25, 1864.

Major-General Canby: Frequent complaints are made to me that persons endeavoring to bring in cotton in strict accordance with the trade regulations of the Treasury Department are frustrated by seizures of district attorneys, marshals, provost-marshals, and others, on various pretenses, all looking to blackmail and spoils, one way and another. I wish, if you can find time, you would look into this matter within your department, and, finding these abuses to exist, break them up, if in your power, so that fair dealing under the regulations can proceed. The printed regulations, no doubt, are accessible to you. If you find the abuses existing, and yet beyond your power, please report to me somewhat particularly upon the facts.

The bearer of this, —— Shaffer, is one who, on behalf of himself and firm, makes complaint, but while he is my friend, I do not ask anything for him which cannot be done for all honest dealers under the regulations.

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO J. C. WELLING

EXECUTIVE MANSION, July 25, 1864.

Sir: According to the request contained in your note, I have placed Mr. Gibson's letter of resignation in the hands of the President. He has read the letter, and says he accepts the resignation, as he will be glad to do with any other, which may be tendered, as this is, for the purpose of taking an attitude of hostility against him.

He says he was not aware that he was so much indebted to Mr. Gibson for having accepted the office at first, not remembering that he ever pressed him to do so, or that he gave it otherwise than as was usual, upon request made on behalf of Mr. Gibson.

He thanks Mr. Gibson for his acknowledgment that he has been treated with personal kindness and consideration, and he says he knows of but two small drawbacks upon Mr. Gibson's right to still receive such treatment, one of which is that he never could learn of his giving much

attention to the duties of his office, and the other is this studied attempt of Mr. Gibson's to stab him. I am, very truly,

Your obedient servant, JOHN HAY.

TELEGRAM TO GENERAL U. S. GRANT

WASHINGTON, D. C., July 26, 1864.

Lieutenant-General U. S. Grant, City Point, Va.: General Rawlins arrived this morning. The President desires you to name, if you can, a time when it would be convenient for you to meet him in person at Fortress Monroe after Thursday morning.

EDWIN M. STANTON, Secretary of War.

TELEGRAM TO GENERAL W. T. SHERMAN

WASHINGTON, D. C., July 26, 1864.

Major-General Sherman, near Atlanta: I have just seen yours complaining of the appointment of Hovey and Osterhaus. The point you make is unquestionably a good one, and yet, please hear a word from us. My recollection is that both General Grant and yourself recommended both Hovey and Osterhaus for promotion, and these, with other strong recommendations, drew committals from us which we could neither honorably nor safely disregard. We blamed Hovey for coming away in the manner in which he did, but we knew he had apparent

reason to feel disappointed and mortified, and we felt it was not best to crush one who certainly had been a good soldier. As to Osterhaus, we did not know of his leaving, at the time we made the appointment, and do not now know the terms on which he left. Not to have appointed him, as the case appeared to us at the time, would have been almost, if not quite, a violation of our word. The word was given on what we thought was high merit, and somewhat on his nationality. I beg you to believe we do not act in a spirit of disregarding merit; we expect to await your program for further changes and promotions in your army. My profoundest thanks to you and your whole army for the present campaign so far.

A. LINCOLN.

TELEGRAM TO GENERAL D. HUNTER

WASHINGTON, July 27, 1864.

Major-General Hunter, Harper's Ferry, West Va.: Please send any recent news you have, particularly as to movements of the enemy.

A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO GENERAL HALLECK, July 27, 1864

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., July 27, 1864.

General: Lieutenant-General Grant having signified that, owing to the difficulties and delay

of communication between his headquarters and Washington, it is necessary that in the present emergency military orders must be issued directly from Washington, the President directs me to instruct you that all the military operations for the defense of the Middle Department, the Department of the Susquehanna, the Department of Washington, and the Department of West Virginia, and all the forces in those departments, are placed under your general command, and that you will be expected to take all military measures necessary for defense against any attack of the enemy and for his capture and destruction. You will issue from time to time such orders to the commanders of the respective departments and to the military authorities therein as may be proper.

Your obedient servant,
EDWIN M. STANTON, Secretary of War.

TELEGRAM TO GOVERNOR JOHNSON

WASHINGTON, July 27, 1864.

Governor Johnson, Nashville, Tenn.: Yours in relation to General A. C. Gillam just received. Will look after the matter to-day.

I also received yours about General Carl Schurz. I appreciate him certainly, as highly as you do; but you can never know until you have the trial, how difficult it is to find a place

for an officer of so high rank when there is no place seeking him. A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO JOHN W. FORNEY

EXECUTIVE MANSION, July 28, 1864.

My dear Sir: Your note announcing your intended visit to Europe takes me somewhat by surprise. Nevertheless I am glad for you to have the relaxation, though I regret the necessity which compels it. I have no European personal acquaintances, or I would gladly give you letters.

I shall be pleased to see you in Washington before you leave, for a special reason. and the sooner you could come the better.

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

TELEGRAM TO GENERAL U. S. GRANT

EXECUTIVE MANSION, July 28, 1864.

Lieutenant-General Grant, City Point, Va.: Will meet you at Fort Monroe, at 8 P. M., on Saturday, the 30th, unless you shall notify me that it will be inconvenient to you.

A. LINCOLN.

TELEGRAM TO GENERAL U. S. GRANT

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, D. C., July 29, 1864.

Lieutenant-General Grant, City Point, Va.:

I have changed my purpose, so that now I expect to reach Fort Monroe at 10 A. M., Sunday, the 31st. A. LINCOLN.

* TELEGRAM TO GENERAL D. HUNTER

EXECUTIVE MANSION, July 30, 1864.

Major-General Hunter, Harper's Ferry, Va.: What news this morning? A. LINCOLN.

* TELEGRAM TO M. ODELL

EXECUTIVE MANSION, July 30, 1864.

Hon. M. Odell, Brooklyn: Please find Colonel Fowler, of Fourteenth Volunteers, and have him telegraph, if he will, a recommendation for Clemens J. Myers, for a clerkship. A. LINCOLN.

TELEGRAM TO J. A. BINGHAM

EXECUTIVE MANSION, July 30, 1864.

Hon. John A. Bingham, Cadiz, O.: Mr. Gibson having resigned, I have appointed you solicitor of the United States, in the Court of Claims. A. LINCOLN.

* LETTER TO GENERAL J. A. MCCLERNAND

EXECUTIVE MANSION, July 30, 1864.

Major-General McClernand: Understanding that your leave of absence expires on the 8th of next month, the same is hereby extended until further order. Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

Telegram to Governor Johnson

Executive Mansion, August 2, 1864.

Governor Johnson, Nashville, Tenn.: Thanks to General Gillam for making the news, and also to you for sending it. Does Joe Heiskell's "walking to meet us" mean any more than that "Joe" was scared and wanted to save his skin?

A. Lincoln.

Indorsement, August 3, 1864.

War Department, August 2, 1864.

Mr. President: This note will introduce to you Mr. Schley of Baltimore, who desires to appeal to [you] for the revocation of an order of General Hunter, removing some persons, citizens of Frederick, beyond his lines, and imprisoning others. This Department has no information of the reasons or proofs on which General Hunter acts, and I do not therefore feel at liberty to suspend or interfere with his action except under your direction.

Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War.

[*Indorsement.*]

The Secretary of War will suspend the order of General Hunter mentioned within, until further order, and direct him to send to the Department a brief report of what is known against each one proposed to be dealt with.

A. Lincoln.

Telegram to General U. S. Grant[1]

(Cipher.)

Washington, D. C., August 3, 1864.

Lieutenant-General Grant, City Point, Va.:
I have seen your despatch in which you say, "I want Sheridan put in command of all the troops in the field, with instructions to put himself south of the enemy, and follow him to the death. Wherever the enemy goes, let our troops go also." This, I think, is exactly right as to how our forces should move; but please look over the despatches you may have received from here, ever since you made that order, and discover, if you can, that there is any idea in the head of any one here of "putting our army south of the enemy," or of following him to the "death," in any direction. I repeat to you, it will neither be done nor attempted, unless you watch it every day and hour, and force it. A. Lincoln.

Telegram to Colonel Wolford

Washington City, August 4, 1864.

Colonel Frank Wolford, Louisville, Ky.:
Yours of yesterday received. Before interfering

[1] Retiring General Sheridan at this time from command of the cavalry corps and ordering him in the field was one of Grant's happiest and most fortunate moves. Lincoln had himself so

with the Judge-Advocate-General's order, I should know his reason for making it. Meanwhile, if you have not already started, wait till you hear from me again. Did you receive letter and inclosures from me? A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO MORTON MCMICHAEL

(*Private.*)

EXECUTIVE MANSION, August 5, 1864.

My dear Sir: When the Philadelphia postmaster was here on the 20th of June last, I read to him a paper in the following words:

Complaint is made to me that you are using your official power to defeat Judge Kelley's renomination to Congress. I am well satisfied with Judge Kelley as a member of Congress, and I do not know that the man who might supplant him would be as satisfactory; but the correct principle, I think, is that all our friends should have absolute freedom of choice among our friends. My wish, therefore, is that you will do just as you think fit with your own suffrage in the case, and not constrain any of your subordinates to do other than as he thinks fit with his. This is precisely the rule I inculcated and adhered to on my part, when a certain other nomination, now recently made, was being canvassed for.

strongly desired this very thing that he telegraphed Grant the above despatch, which was held a violation of official etiquette.

He promised me to strictly follow this. I am now told that, of the two or three hundred employees in the Post-office, not one of them is openly for Judge Kelley. This, if true, is not accidental. Left to their free choice, there can be no doubt that a large number of them, probably as much or more than half, would be for Kelley. And if they are for him, and are not restrained, they can put it beyond question by publicly saying so. Please tell the postmaster he must find a way to relieve me from the suspicion that he is not keeping his promise to me in good faith. Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

* TELEGRAM TO GOVERNOR F. H. PIERPOINT

EXECUTIVE MANSION, August 5, 1864.

Governor Pierpoint, Alexandria, Va.: General Butler telegraphs me that Judge Snead is at liberty. A. LINCOLN.

TELEGRAM TO HORACE GREELEY

EXECUTIVE MANSION, August 6, 1864.

Hon. Horace Greeley, New York: Yours to Major Hay about publication of our correspondence received. With the suppression of a few passages in your letters in regard to which I think you and I would not disagree, I should be glad of the publication. Please come over and see me. A. LINCOLN.

Unfinished Draft of Letter to ——, Pennsylvania

Washington, D. C., August 6, 1864.

The President has received yours of yesterday and is kindly paying attention to it. As it is my business to assist him whenever I can, I will thank you to inform me, for his use, whether you are either a white man or black man, because in either case you cannot be regarded as an entirely impartial judge. It may be that you belong to a third or fourth class of yellow or red men, in which case the impartiality of your judgment would be more apparent.

* Telegram to Anson Miller

Executive Mansion,
Washington, D. C., August 6, 1864.

Hon. Anson Miller, Rockford, Ill.: If you will go and live in New Mexico I will appoint you a judge there. Answer.

A. Lincoln.

* Telegram to Horace Greeley

Executive Mansion, August 8, 1864.

Hon. Horace Greeley, New York: I telegraphed you Saturday. Did you receive the dispatch? Please answer.

A. Lincoln.

Letter to General S. G. Burbridge

Washington, D. C., August 8, 1864.

Major-General Burbridge, Lexington, Ky.: Last December Mrs. Emily T. Helm, half-sister of Mrs. Lincoln, and widow of the rebel general, Ben Hardin Helm, stopped here on her way from Georgia to Kentucky, and I gave her a paper, as I remember, to protect her against the mere fact of her being General Helm's widow. I hear a rumor to-day that you recently sought to arrest her, but were prevented by her presenting the paper from me. I do not intend to protect her against the consequences of disloyal words or acts, spoken or done by her since her return to Kentucky, and if the paper given her by me can be construed to give her protection for such words or acts, it is hereby revoked *pro tanto*. Deal with her for current conduct just as you would with any other. A. Lincoln.

Letter to Horace Greeley

(*Private.*)

Executive Mansion, August 9, 1864.

Dear Sir: Herewith is a full copy of the correspondence, and which I have had privately printed, but not made public. The parts of your letters which I wish suppressed are only those which, as I think, give too gloomy an as-

pect to our cause, and those which present the carrying of elections as a motive of action. I have, as you see, drawn a red pencil over the parts I wish suppressed.

As to the Alexander H. Stephens matter, so much pressed by you, I can only say that he sought to come to Washington in the name of the "Confederate States," in a vessel of "the Confederate States navy," and with no pretense even that he would bear any proposal for peace; but with language showing that his mission would be military, and not civil or diplomatic. Nor has he at any time since pretended that he had terms of peace, so far as I know or believe. On the contrary, Jefferson Davis has, in the most formal manner, declared that Stephens had no terms of peace. I thought we could not afford to give this quasi-acknowledgment of the independence of the Confederacy, in a case where there was not even an intimation of anything for our good. Still, as the parts of your letters relating to Stephens contain nothing worse than a questioning of my action, I do not ask a suppression of those parts. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO GENERAL N. P. BANKS

EXECUTIVE MANSION, August 9, 1864.

Major-General Banks: I have just seen the

new constitution adopted by the Convention at Louisiana; and I am anxious that it shall be ratified by the people. I will thank you to let the civil officers in Louisiana, holding under me, know that this is my wish, and let me know at once who of them openly declare for the constitution, and who of them, if any, decline to so declare. Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

TELEGRAM TO GENERAL E. R. S. CANBY

EXECUTIVE MANSION, August 9, 1864.

To Major-General Edward R. S. Canby, New Orleans: For satisfactory reasons which concern the public service, I have to direct that if Andrew J. Hamilton, or any person authorized in writing by him, shall come out of either of the ports of Galveston or Sabine Pass with any vessel or vessels freighted with cotton shipped to the agent of the Treasury Department at New Orleans, the passage of such person, vessels, and cargoes shall not be molested or hindered, but they shall be permitted to pass to the hands of such consignee. ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

LETTER TO GENERAL C. SCHURZ

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, D. C.,
August 11, 1864.

Major-General Carl Schurz, Bethlehem, Penn.: The President directs me to request that

you will proceed at once to Washington, and report to him in person.

JOHN HAY, Assistant Adjutant-General.

LETTER TO SECRETARY STANTON

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, D. C.,
August 11, 1864.

My dear Sir: I should be glad for General Mott of New Jersey to have a brevet major-generalship. He has done a great deal of hard service, has been twice (I believe) wounded, and is now, by assignment of his superiors, commanding a division. Add to this that I have been for a year trying to find an opportunity to promote him. as you know. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

TELEGRAM TO GENERAL U. S. GRANT

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, D. C.,
August 14, 1864. 1.30 P. M.

Lieutenant-General Grant, City Point, Va.: The Secretary of War and I concur that you had better confer with General Lee, and stipulate for a mutual discontinuance of house-burning and other destruction of private property. The time and manner of conference and particulars of stipulation we leave, on our part, to your convenience and judgment.

A. LINCOLN.

Telegram to General W. T. Sherman

Executive Mansion, August 15, 1864.

Major-General Sherman, near Atlanta, Ga.:
If the government should purchase, on its own account, cotton northward of you, and on the line of your communications, would it be an inconvenience to you, or detriment to the military service, for it to come to the north on the railroad? A. Lincoln.

Interview with John T. Mills, August [15?], 1864

"MR. PRESIDENT," said Governor Randall, "why can't you seek seclusion, and play hermit for a fortnight? It would reinvigorate you."

"Ah," said the President, "two or three weeks would do me no good. I cannot fly from my thoughts—my solicitude for this great country follows me wherever I go. I do not think it is personal vanity or ambition, though I am not free from these infirmities, but I cannot but feel that the weal or woe of this great nation will be decided in November. There is no program offered by any wing of the Democratic party but that must result in the permanent destruction of the Union."

"But, Mr. President, General McClellan is in favor of crushing out this rebellion by force. He will be the Chicago candidate."

"Sir, the slightest knowledge of arithmetic will prove to any man that the rebel armies cannot be destroyed by Democratic strategy. It would sacrifice all the white men of the North to do it. There are now in the service of the

United States nearly 150,000 able-bodied colored men, most of them under arms, defending and acquiring Union territory. The Democratic strategy demands that these forces be disbanded, and that the masters be conciliated by restoring them to slavery. The black men who now assist Union prisoners to escape are to be converted into our enemies, in the vain hope of gaining the good-will of their masters. We shall have to fight two nations instead of one.

"You cannot conciliate the South if you guarantee to them ultimate success; and the experience of the present war proves their success is inevitable if you fling the compulsory labor of millions of black men into their side of the scale. Will you give our enemies such military advantages as insure success, and then depend on coaxing, flattery, and concession to get them back into the Union? Abandon all the posts now garrisoned by black men, take 150,000 men from our side and put them in the battle-field or cornfield against us, and we would be compelled to abandon the war in three weeks.

"We have to hold territory in inclement and sickly places; where are the Democrats to do this? It was a free fight, and the field was open to the war Democrats to put down this rebellion by fighting against both master and slave, long before the present policy was inaugurated.

"There have been men base enough to propose to me to return to slavery the black warriors of Port Hudson and Olustee, and thus win the respect of the masters they fought. Should I do so, I should deserve to be damned in time and eternity. Come what will, I will keep my faith with friend and foe. My enemies pretend I am now carrying on this war for the sole purpose of abolition. So long as I am President, it shall be carried on for the sole purpose of restoring the Union. But no human power can subdue this rebellion without the use of the emancipation policy, and every other policy calculated to weaken the moral and physical forces of the rebellion.

"Freedom has given us 150,000 men, raised on Southern soil. It will give us more yet. Just so much it has subtracted from the enemy, and, instead of alienating the South, there are now evidences of a fraternal feeling growing up between our men and the rank and file of the rebel soldiers. Let my enemies prove to the country that the destruction of slavery is not necessary to a restoration of the Union. I will abide the issue."

Letter to Henry J. Raymond

Executive Mansion, August 15, 1864.

My dear Sir: I have proposed to Mr.

Greeley that the Niagara correspondence be published, suppressing only the parts of his letters over which the red pencil is drawn in the copy which I herewith send. He declines giving his consent to the publication of his letters unless these parts be published with the rest. I have concluded that it is better for me to submit for the time to the consequences of the false position in which I consider he has placed me than to subject the country to the consequences of publishing their discouraging and injurious parts. I send you this and the accompanying copy, not for publication, but merely to explain to you, and that you may preserve them until their proper time shall come.

Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

*INDORSEMENT OF APPLICATION FOR EMPLOYMENT, August 15, 1864

"I am always for the man who wishes to work; and I shall be glad for this man to get suitable employment at Cavalry Depot, or elsewhere.

A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO WARD HUNT

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, D. C.,
August 16, 1864.

My dear Sir: Yours of the ninth instant was

duly received, and submitted to Secretary Seward. He makes a response which I herewith inclose to you. I add for myself that I am for the regular nominee in all cases, and that no one could be more satisfactory to me as the nominee in that district than Mr. [Roscoe] Conkling. I do not mean to say there [are] not others as good as he in the district; but I think I know him to be at least good enough.

Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

TELEGRAM TO GENERAL U. S. GRANT

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, D. C.,
August 17, 1864. 10.30 A. M.

Lieutenant-General Grant, City Point, Va.:
I have seen your despatch expressing your unwillingness to break your hold where you are. Neither am I willing. Hold on with a bulldog grip, and chew and choke as much as possible.

A. LINCOLN.

UNFINISHED DRAFT OF LETTER TO CHARLES D. ROBINSON

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, D. C.,
August 17, 1864.

My dear Sir: Your letter of the seventh was placed in my hand yesterday by Governor Ran-

dall. To me it seems plain that saying reunion and abandonment of slavery would be considered, if offered, is not saying that nothing *else* or *less* would be considered, if offered. But I will not stand upon the mere construction of language. It is true, as you remind me, that in the Greeley letter of 1862 I said: "If I could save the Union without freeing any slave I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing all the slaves I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing some and leaving others alone I would also do that." I continued in the same letter as follows: "What I do about slavery and the colored race, I do because I believe it helps to save the Union; and what I forbear, I forbear because I do not believe it would help to save the Union. I shall do less whenever I shall believe what I am doing hurts the cause; and I shall do more whenever I shall believe doing more will help the cause."

All this I said in the utmost sincerity; and I am as true to the whole of it now as when I first said it. When I afterward proclaimed emancipation, and employed colored soldiers, I only followed the declaration just quoted from the Greeley letter that "I shall do more whenever I shall believe doing more will help the cause." The way these measures were to help the cause was not to be by magic or miracles, but by in-

ducing the colored people to come bodily over from the rebel side to ours. On this point, nearly a year ago, in a letter to Mr. Conkling, made public at once, I wrote as follows: "But negroes, like other people, act upon motives. Why should they do anything for us if we will do nothing for them? If they stake their lives for us they must be prompted by the strongest motive—even the promise of freedom. And the promise being made, must be kept." I am sure you will not, on due reflection, say that the promise being made must be broken at the first opportunity. I am sure you would not desire me to say, or to leave an inference, that I am ready, whenever convenient, to join in reënslaving those who shall have served us in consideration of our promise. As matter of morals, could such treachery by any possibility escape the curses of heaven, or of any good man? As matter of policy, to announce such a purpose would ruin the Union cause itself. All recruiting of colored men would instantly cease and all colored men now in our service would instantly desert us. And rightfully, too. Why should they give their lives for us, with full notice of our purpose to betray them? Drive back to the support of the rebellion the physical force which the colored people now give and promise us, and neither the present, nor any coming, administra-

tion can save the Union. Take from us and give to the enemy the hundred and thirty, forty, or fifty thousand colored persons now serving us as soldiers, seamen, and laborers, and we cannot longer maintain the contest. The party who could elect a President on a War and Slavery Restoration platform would, of necessity, lose the colored force; and that force being lost, would be as powerless to save the Union as to do any other impossible thing.

It is not a question of sentiment or taste, but one of physical force, which may be measured and estimated, as horse-power and steam-power are measured and estimated. And, by measurement, it is more than we can lose and live. Nor can we, by discarding it, get a white force in place of it. There is a witness in every white man's bosom that he would rather go to the war having the negro to help him than to help the enemy against him. It is not the giving of one class for another—it is simply giving a large force to the enemy for nothing in return. In addition to what I have said, allow me to remind you that no one, having control of the rebel armies, or, in fact, having any influence whatever in the rebellion, has offered, or intimated, a willingness to a restoration of the Union, in any event, or on any condition whatever. Let it be constantly borne in mind that no such offer

has been made or intimated. Shall we be weak enough to allow the enemy to distract us with an abstract question which he himself refuses to present as a practical one? In the Conkling letter before mentioned, I said: "Whenever you shall have conquered all resistance to the Union, if I shall urge you to continue fighting, it will be an apt time then to declare that you will not fight to free negroes." I repeat this now. If Jefferson Davis wishes for himself, or for the benefit of his friends at the North, to know what I would do if he were to offer peace and reunion, saying nothing about slavery, let him try me.

Proclamation Concerning Commercial Regulations, August 18, 1864

By the President of the United States of America:

A Proclamation.

Whereas the act of Congress of the 28th of September, 1850, entitled "An act to create additional collection districts in the State of California, and to change the existing districts therein, and to modify the existing collection districts in the United States," extends to merchandise warehoused under bond the privilege of being exported to the British North American provinces adjoining the United States, in the

manner prescribed in the act of Congress of the 3d of March, 1845, which designates certain frontier ports through which merchandise may be exported, and further provides "that such other ports, situated on the frontiers of the United States adjoining the British North American provinces, as may hereafter be found expedient, may have extended to them the like privileges, on the recommendation of the Secretary of the Treasury, and proclamation duly made by the President of the United States, specially designating the ports to which the aforesaid privileges are to be extended."

Now, therefore, I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States of America, in accordance with the recommendation of the Secretary of the Treasury, do hereby declare and proclaim that the port of Newport, in the State of Vermont, is and shall be entitled to all the privileges in regard to the exportation of merchandise in bond to the British North American provinces adjoining the United States, which are extended to the ports enumerated in the seventh section of the act of Congress of the 3d of March, 1845, aforesaid, from and after the date of this proclamation.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington, this eighteenth day of August, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-four, and of the independence of the United States of America the eighty-ninth.

[L. S.] A. LINCOLN.

By the President: WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Secretary of State.

ADDRESS TO THE 164TH OHIO REGIMENT, August 18, 1864

Soldiers: You are about to return to your homes and your friends, after having, as I learn, performed in camp a comparatively short term of duty in this great contest. I am greatly obliged to you, and to all who have come forward at the call of their country. I wish it might be more generally and universally understood what the country is now engaged in. We have, as all will agree, a free government, where every man has a right to be equal with every other man. In this great struggle, this form of government and every form of human right is endangered if our enemies succeed. There is more involved in this contest than is realized by every one. There is involved in this struggle the question whether your children and my children shall enjoy the privileges we have enjoyed. I say this in order to impress upon you, if you

are not already so impressed, that no small matter should divert us from our great purpose.

There may be some inequalities in the practical application of our system. It is fair that each man shall pay taxes in exact proportion to the value of his property; but if we should wait before collecting a tax, to adjust the taxes upon each man in exact proportion with every other man, we should never collect any tax at all. There may be mistakes made sometimes; things may be done wrong; while the officers of the government do all they can to prevent mistakes. But I beg of you, as citizens of this great republic, not to let your minds be carried off from the great work we have before us. This struggle is too large for you to be diverted from it by any small matter. When you return to your homes, rise up to the height of a generation of men worthy of a free government, and we will carry out the great work we have commenced. I return to you my sincere thanks, soldiers, for the honor you have done me this afternoon.

*Telegram to Colonel G. W. Bridges

Executive Mansion, Washington, D. C.,
August 18, 1864.

George W. Bridges, Nashville, Tenn.: If Governor Andrew Johnson thinks execution of sentence in case of William R. Bridges should

be further suspended, and will request it, the President will order it.

JNO. G. NICOLAY, Private Secretary.

NOTE TO D. S. D. BALDWIN

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, D. C.,
August 19, 1864.

Dear Sir: The President never interferes with the details of army organization, and the note of Hon. D. S. Dickinson, accompanying your application of the 17th instant, is returned, as it is presumed it will have as much weight with General Patrick, as if it were directed to him instead of Major-General Burnside.

Your obedient servant,

JNO. G. NICOLAY, Private Secretary.

*TELEGRAM TO GENERAL B. F. BUTLER

EXECUTIVE MANSION, August 20, 1864.

Major-General Butler, Bermuda Hundred, Va.: Please allow Judge Snead to go to his family on Eastern Shore, or give me some good reason why not. A. LINCOLN.

ORDER FOR THE RELEASE OF JOSEPH HOWARD

EXECUTIVE MANSION, August 22, 1864

HON. SECRETARY OF WAR.

My dear Sir: I very much wish to oblige Henry Ward Beecher by releasing Howard;

but I wish you to be satisfied when it is done. What say you? Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

I have no objection if you think it right—and this a proper time. E. M. S.

Let Howard, imprisoned in regard to the bogus proclamation, be discharged.

A. LINCOLN.

August 23, 1864.

ADDRESS TO THE 166TH OHIO REGIMENT, August 22, 1864

Soldiers: I suppose you are going home to see your families and friends. For the services you have done in this great struggle in which we are all engaged, I present you sincere thanks for myself and the country.

I almost always feel inclined, when I happen to say anything to soldiers, to impress upon them, in a few brief remarks, the importance of success in this contest. It is not merely for to-day, but for all time to come, that we should perpetuate for our children's children that great and free government which we have enjoyed all our lives. I beg you to remember this, not merely for my sake, but for yours. I happen, temporarily, to occupy this White House. I

am a living witness that any one of your children may look to come here as my father's child has. It is in order that each one of you may have, through this free government which we have enjoyed, an open field and a fair chance for your industry, enterprise, and intelligence; that you may all have equal privileges in the race of life, with all its desirable human aspirations. It is for this the struggle should be maintained, that we may not lose our birthright —not only for one, but for two or three years. The nation is worth fighting for, to secure such an inestimable jewel.

Memorandum

Executive Mansion, August 23, 1864.

This morning, as for some days past, it seems exceedingly probable that this administration will not be reëlected.[1] Then it will be my duty

[1] We copy from the MS. diary of one of the President's secretaries under date of November 11, 1864, the following passage relating to this incident: "At the meeting of the Cabinet to-day the President took out a paper from his desk and said: 'Gentlemen, do you remember last summer I asked you all to sign your names to the back of a paper of which I did not show you the inside? This is it. Now, Mr. Hay, see if you can open this without tearing it.' He had pasted it up in so singular a style that it required some cutting to get it open. He then read this memorandum [given in the text above]. The President said: 'You will remember that this was written at the time, six days before the Chicago nominating convention, when as yet we had no adversary and seemed to have no friends.

to so coöperate with the President-elect as to save the Union between the election and the inauguration; as he will have secured his election on such ground that he cannot possibly save it afterward. A. LINCOLN.

DRAFT OF INSTRUCTIONS TO HENRY J. RAYMOND[1]

(Not Sent or Used.)

EXECUTIVE MANSION, August 24, 1864.

Sir: You will proceed forthwith and obtain, if possible, a conference for peace with Honorable Jefferson Davis, or any person by him authorized for that purpose. You will address him in entirely respectful terms, at all events,

I then solemnly resolved on the course of action indicated in this paper. I resolved in case of the election of General McClellan, being certain that he would be the candidate, that I would see him and talk matters over with him. I would say, "General, the election has demonstrated that you are stronger, have more influence with the American people than I. Now let us together, you with your influence and I with all the executive power of the government, try to save the country. You raise as many troops as you possibly can for this final trial, and I will devote all my energies to assist and finish the war."'

"Seward said, 'And the General would have answered you, "Yes, yes," and the next day when you saw him again and pressed these views upon him he would have said, "Yes, yes," and so on forever, and would have done nothing at all.'

"'At least,' said Lincoln, 'I should have done my duty, and have stood clear before my own conscience.'"

"Abraham Lincoln: A History," IX, 251.—N. and H.

and in any that may be indispensable to secure the conference. At said conference you will propose, on behalf of this government, that upon the restoration of the Union and the national authority, the war shall cease at once, all remaining questions to be left for adjustment by peaceful modes. If this be accepted, hostilities to cease at once. If it be not accepted, you will then request to be informed what terms, if any, embracing the restoration of the Union would be accepted. If any such be presented you in answer, you will forthwith report the same to this government, and await further instructions. If the presentation of any terms embracing the restoration of the Union be declined, you will then request to be informed what terms of peace would be accepted; and, on receiving any answer, report the same to this government, and await further instructions.

*Telegram to Governor Andrew Johnson

Executive Mansion, Washington, D. C.,
August 26, 1864.

Gov. Johnson, Nashville, Tenn.: Thanks to General Gillam for making the news and also to you for sending it. Does Joe Heiskell's "Walking to meet us" mean any more than that "Joe" was scared and wanted to save his skin?

A. Lincoln.

Note to Secretary Stanton

Executive Mansion, August 27, 1864.

My dear Sir: If General Sigel has asked for an inquiry, let him have it, if there is not some insurmountable, or at least, very serious obstacle. He is fairly entitled to this consideration. Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

Telegram to General U. S. Grant

Washington City, August 28, 1864.

Lieutenant-General Grant: There appears to be doubt whether the report of Fort Morgan being in our possession is in the Richmond papers. Did you see the Richmond paper containing the statement? A. Lincoln.

Telegram to General U. S. Grant

Executive Mansion, August 29, 1864.

Lieut.-Gen. Grant: Colonel T. Worthington of Ohio is here, wishing to visit you. I will send him if you say so, otherwise not.

A. Lincoln.

Telegram to Mrs. Lincoln

Washington, D. C., August 31, 1864.

Mrs. A. Lincoln, Manchester, Vt.: All reasonably well. Bob not here yet. How is dear Tad? A. Lincoln.

Order Concerning Cotton

Executive Mansion, August 31, 1864.

Any person or persons engaged in bringing out cotton, in strict conformity with authority given by W. P. Fessenden, Secretary of the United States Treasury, must not be hindered by the War, Navy, or any other Department of the government, or any person engaged under any of said departments. Abraham Lincoln.

Address to the 148th Ohio Regiment, August 31, 1864

SOLDIERS of the 148th Ohio: I am most happy to meet you on this occasion. I understand that it has been your honorable privilege to stand, for a brief period, in the defense of your country, and that now you are on your way to your homes. I congratulate you, and those who are waiting to bid you welcome home from the war; and permit me in the name of the people to thank you for the part you have taken in this struggle for the life of the nation. You are soldiers of the republic, everywhere honored and respected. Whenever I appear before a body of soldiers I feel tempted to talk to them of the nature of the struggle in which we are engaged. I look upon it as an attempt on the one hand to overwhelm and destroy the national existence, while on our part we are striving to maintain the government and institutions of our fathers, to enjoy them ourselves, and transmit them to our children and our children's children forever.

To do this the constitutional administration

of our government must be sustained, and I beg of you not to allow your minds or your hearts to be diverted from the support of all necessary measures for that purpose, by any miserable picayune arguments addressed to your pockets, or inflammatory appeals made to your passions and your prejudices.

It is vain and foolish to arraign this man or that for the part he has taken or has not taken, and to hold the government responsible for his acts. In no administration can there be perfect equality of action and uniform satisfaction rendered by all.

But this government must be preserved in spite of the acts of any man or set of men. It is worthy of your every effort. Nowhere in the world is presented a government of so much liberty and equality. To the humblest and poorest amongst us are held out the highest privileges and positions. The present moment finds me at the White House, yet there is as good a chance for your children as there was for my father's.

Again I admonish you not to be turned from your stern purpose of defending our beloved country and its free institutions by any arguments urged by ambitious and designing men, but to stand fast for the Union and the old flag.

Soldiers, I bid you God-speed to your homes.

Letter to Colonel H. C. Huidekoper

Executive Mansion, Washington, D. C.,
September 1, 1864.

Sir: It is represented to me that there are at Rock Island, Illinois, as rebel prisoners of war, many persons of Northern and foreign birth who are unwilling to be exchanged and sent South, but who wish to take the oath of allegiance and enter the military service of the Union. Colonel Huidekoper, on behalf of the people of some parts of Pennsylvania, wishes to pay the bounties the government would have to pay to proper persons of this class, have them enter the service of the United States, and be credited to the localities furnishing the bounty money. He will therefore proceed to Rock Island, ascertain the names of such persons (not including any who have attractions Southward), and telegraph them to the Provost-Marshal-General here, whereupon direction will be given to discharge the persons named upon their taking the oath of allegiance; and then upon the official evidence being furnished that they shall have been duly received and mustered into the service of the United States, their number will be credited as may be directed by Colonel Huidekoper.

Abraham Lincoln.

Telegrams to Postmaster-General Blair

Washington, D. C., September 1, 1864.

Hon. M. Blair, Portsmouth, N. H.: Please return here at your earliest convenience.

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion, September 3, 1864.

Hon. M. Blair, Portsmouth, N. H.: Please come at once. Don't delay. Answer when you will be here. A. Lincoln.

Proclamation of Thanksgiving

Executive Mansion, September 3, 1864.

The signal success that divine Providence has recently vouchsafed to the operations of the United States fleet and army in the harbor of Mobile, and the reduction of Fort Powell, Fort Gaines, and Fort Morgan, and the glorious achievements of the army under Major-General Sherman, in the State of Georgia, resulting in the capture of the city of Atlanta, call for devout acknowledgment to the Supreme Being in whose hands are the destinies of nations. It is therefore requested that on next Sunday, in all places of worship in the United States, thanksgivings be offered to him for his mercy in preserving our national existence against the insurgent rebels who have been waging a cruel war

against the Government of the United States for its overthrow; and also that prayer be made for divine protection to our brave soldiers and their leaders in the field, who have so often and so gallantly periled their lives in battling with the enemy; and for blessings and comfort from the Father, of mercies to the sick, wounded, and prisoners, and to the orphans and widows of those who have fallen in the service of their country, and that he will continue to uphold the Government of the United States against all the efforts of public enemies and secret foes.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

ORDERS OF THANKS AND REJOICING

EXECUTIVE MANSION, September 3, 1864.

The national thanks are tendered by the President to Admiral Farragut and Major-General Canby for the skill and harmony with which the recent operations in Mobile Harbor, and against Fort Powell, Fort Gaines, and Fort Morgan, were planned and carried into execution. Also to Admiral Farragut and Major-General Granger, under whose immediate command they were conducted, and to the gallant commanders on sea and land, and to the sailors and soldiers engaged in the operations, for their energy and courage, which, under the blessing of Providence, have been crowned with brilliant

success, and have won for them the applause and thanks of the nation.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, September 3, 1864.

The national thanks are tendered by the President to Major-General William T. Sherman, and the gallant officers and soldiers of his command before Atlanta, for the distinguished ability, courage, and perseverance displayed in the campaign in Georgia, which, under divine favor, has resulted in the capture of Atlanta. The marches, battles, sieges, and other military operations that have signalized the campaign must render it famous in the annals of war, and have entitled those who have participated therein to the applause and thanks of the nation.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN,
President of the United States.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, September 3, 1864.

Ordered: First. That on Monday, the fifth day of September, commencing at the hour of twelve o'clock noon, there shall be given a salute of one hundred guns at the arsenal and navy-yard, at Washington, and on Tuesday, the 6th of September or on the day after the receipt of this order, at each arsenal and navy-yard in the United States, for the recent brilliant achieve-

ments of the fleet and land forces of the United States in the harbor of Mobile, and in the reduction of Fort Powell, Fort Gaines, and Fort Morgan. The Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy will issue the necessary directions in their respective departments for the execution of this order.

Second. That on Wednesday the 7th of September, commencing at the hour of twelve o'clock noon, there shall be fired a salute of one hundred guns at the arsenal at Washington, and at New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Pittsburg, Newport (Ky.), and St. Louis, and New Orleans, Mobile, and Pensacola, Hilton Head, and Newbern, the day after the receipt of this order, for the brilliant achievements of the army under command of Major-General Sherman, in the State of Georgia, and for the capture of Atlanta. The Secretary of War will issue directions for the execution of this order.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN,
President of the United States.

TELEGRAM TO GENERAL S. G. BURBRIDGE

EXECUTIVE MANSION, September 4, 1864.

General Burbridge, Lexington, Ky.: Judge Swayne, of the United States Supreme Court, appeals to me in favor of a man by the name of A. Harris, said to be in custody at Louisville,

on charge of belonging to the secret order so much spoken of. Harris avers that he does not belong to it, and the judge declares he believes him. Please have the case examined.

A. Lincoln.

Letter to Mrs. Eliza P. Gurney

Executive Mansion, September 4, 1864.

My esteemed Friend: I have not forgotten -probably never shall forget—the very impressive occasion when yourself and friends visited me on a Sabbath forenoon two years ago. Nor has your kind letter, written nearly a year later, ever been forgotten. In all it has been your purpose to strengthen my reliance on God. I am much indebted to the good Christian people of the country for their constant prayers and consolations; and to no one of them more than to yourself. The purposes of the Almighty are perfect, and must prevail, though we erring mortals may fail to accurately perceive them in advance. We hoped for a happy termination of this terrible war long before this; but God knows best, and has ruled otherwise. We shall yet acknowledge his wisdom, and our own error therein. Meanwhile we must work earnestly in the best lights he gives us, trusting that so working still conduces to the great ends he ordains. Surely he intends some great good

to follow this mighty convulsion, which no mortal could make, and no mortal could stay. Your people, the Friends, have had, and are having, a very great trial. On principle and faith opposed to both war and oppression, they can only practically oppose oppression by war. In this hard dilemma some have chosen one horn, and some the other. For those appealing to me on conscientious grounds, I have done, and shall do, the best I could and can, in my own conscience, under my oath to the law. That you believe this I doubt not; and, believing it, I shall still receive for our country and myself your earnest prayers to our Father in heaven. Your sincere friend,

A. LINCOLN.

REPLY TO SEÑOR BLAS BRUZUAL, MINISTER FROM VENEZUELA, September 5, 1864

Mr. Bruzual: It gives me pleasure to receive and welcome to the United States a representative of Venezuela.

Venezuela, almost centrally situated among American republics, holds a position commercially advantageous and politically important. Endowed by nature with capacity for rich and varied production, it extends over a broad territory, embracing vast resources yet to be developed. Guided by the principles of republi-

can government and advancing civilization, it adopts institutions which have contributed largely to the growth of the countries of this continent in the past, and which form the basis of high and cherished aspirations for their future.

The government and people of the United States cannot but feel a deep interest and earnest sympathy in the peace, the prosperity, and the progress of Venezuela.

Thanking you for the friendly sentiments toward the United States which you have expressed, I pray you to accept the assurance of my best wishes that your sojourn in our country may be agreeable to yourself and satisfactory to the government which you represent.

Reply to Committee of Colored People of Baltimore Who Presented Him With a Bible, September 7, 1864

This occasion would seem fitting for a lengthy response to the address which you have just made. I would make one if prepared; but I am not. I would promise to respond in writing had not experience taught me that business will not allow me to do so. I can only now say, as I have often before said, it has always been a sentiment with me that all mankind should be free. So far as able, within my sphere, I have

always acted as I believe to be right and just; and I have done all I could for the good of mankind generally. In letters and documents sent from this office I have expressed myself better than I now can. In regard to this great book, I have but to say, it is the best gift God has given to man.

All the good Saviour gave to the world was communicated through this book. But for it we could not know right from wrong. All things most desirable for man's welfare, here and hereafter, are to be found portrayed in it. To you I return my most sincere thanks for the very elegant copy of the great Book of God which you present.

*Telegrams Concerning Edward Conley

Executive Mansion, September 8, 1864.

Governor Smith, Providence, R. I.: Yours of yesterday about Edward Conley received. Don't remember receiving anything else from you on the subject. Please telegraph me at once the grounds on which you request his punishment to be commuted. A. Lincoln.

War Department, September 8, 1864.

General Slough, Alexandria, Va.: Edward Conley's execution is respited to one week from to-morrow. Act accordingly. A. Lincoln.

Telegram to Mrs. Lincoln

Executive Mansion, September 8, 1864.

Mrs. A. Lincoln, Manchester, Vt.: All well, including Tad's pony and the goats. Mrs. Colonel Dimmick died night before last. Bob left Sunday afternoon. Said he did not know whether he should see you. A. Lincoln.

*Telegram to Governor W. Pickering

War Department, September 8, 1864.

Governor Pickering, Olympia, W. T.: Your patriotic dispatch of yesterday received and will be published. A. Lincoln.

Order of Thanks to Hundred-Day Troops from Ohio

Executive Mansion, September 10, 1864.

The term of one hundred days, for which the National Guard of Ohio volunteered, having expired, the President directs an official acknowledgment of their patriotism and valuable services during the recent campaign. The term of service of their enlistment was short, but distinguished by memorable events in the valley of the Shenandoah, on the Peninsula, in the operations of the James River, around Petersburg and Richmond, in the battle of Monocacy, in the intrenchments of Washington,

and in other important service. The National Guard of Ohio performed with alacrity the duty of patriotic volunteers, for which they are entitled, and are hereby tendered, through the governor of their State, the national thanks.

The Secretary of War is directed to transmit a copy of this order to the Governor of Ohio, and to cause a certificate of their honorable service to be delivered to the officers and soldiers of the Ohio National Guard who recently served in the military force of the United States as volunteers for one hundred days.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

*TELEGRAM TO MRS. LINCOLN

WAR DEPARTMENT, September 11, 1864.

Mrs. A. Lincoln, New York: All well. What day will you be home? Four days ago sent dispatch to Manchester, Vt., for you.

A. LINCOLN.

UNFINISHED DRAFT OF LETTER TO ISAAC M. SCHERMERHORN

EXECUTIVE MANSION, September 12, 1864.

My dear Sir: Yours inviting me to attend a Union mass-meeting at Buffalo is received. Much is being said about peace, and no man desires peace more ardently than I. Still, I am yet unprepared to give up the Union for a peace

which, so achieved, could not be of much duration. The preservation of our Union was not the sole avowed object for which the war was commenced. It was commenced for precisely the reverse object—to destroy our Union. The insurgents commenced it by firing upon the *Star of the West* and on Fort Sumter, and by other similar acts. It is true, however, that the administration accepted the war thus commenced for the sole avowed object of preserving our Union; and it is not true that it has since been, or will be, prosecuted by this administration for any other object. In declaring this I only declare what I can know and do know to be true, and what no other man can know to be false.

In taking the various steps which have led to my present position in relation to the war, the public interest and my private interest have been perfectly parallel, because in no other way could I serve myself so well as by truly serving the Union. The whole field has been open to me where to choose. No place-hunting necessity has been upon me urging me to seek a position of antagonism to some other man, irrespective of whether such position might be favorable or unfavorable to the Union.

Of course I may err in judgment, but my present position in reference to the rebellion is

the result of my best judgment, and, according to that best judgment, it is the only position upon which any executive can or could save the Union. Any substantial departure from it insures the success of the rebellion. An armistice —a cessation of hostilities—is the end of the struggle, and the insurgents would be in peaceable possession of all that has been struggled for. Any different policy in regard to the colored man deprives us of his help, and this is more than we can bear. We cannot spare the hundred and forty or fifty thousand now serving us as soldiers, seamen, and laborers. This is not a question of sentiment or taste, but one of physical force, which may be measured and estimated as horse-power and steam-power are measured and estimated. Keep it, and you can save the Union. Throw it away and the Union goes with it. Nor is it possible for any administration to retain the service of these people with the express or implied understanding that, upon the first convenient occasion, they are to be reënslaved. It cannot be, and it ought not to be.

Letter to Isaac M. Schermerhorn

(*Private.*)

Executive Mansion, September 12, 1864.

My dear Sir: Your letter, mentioned in your two telegrams, has not yet reached me, so that I

am without knowledge of its particulars. I beg you to pardon me for having concluded that it is not best for me now to write a general letter to a political meeting.

First, I believe it is not customary for one holding the office, and being a candidate for re-election, to do so; and, secondly, a public letter must be written with some care, and at some expense of time, so that having begun with your meeting, I could not well refuse others, and yet could not get through with all having equal claims.

Please tender to those you represent, my sincere thanks for the invitation, and my appeal to their indulgence for having declined their request. Yours very truly, A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO GENERAL U. S. GRANT

EXECUTIVE MANSION, September 12, 1864.

Lieutenant-General Grant: Sheridan and Early are facing each other at a dead-lock. Could we not pick up a regiment here and there, to the number of say ten thousand men, and quietly but suddenly concentrate them at Sheridan's camp and enable him to make a strike?

This is but a suggestion.

Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

Letter to General B. F. Butler

Washington, D. C., September 13, 1864.

Major-General Butler, Bermuda Hundred, Va.: The Ames guns I am under promise to pay, or rather to advise paying, a very high price for, provided they bear the test, and they are not yet tested, though I believe in process of being tested. I could not be justified to pay the extraordinary price without the testing. I shall be happy to let you have some of them as soon as I can. How comes on your canal?

A. Lincoln.

*Telegram to J. G. Blaine

War Department, September 13, 1864.

Hon. J. G. Blaine, Augusta, Me.: On behalf of the Union, thanks to Maine. Thanks to you personally for sending the news.

A. Lincoln.

P. S.—Send same to L. B. Smith and M. A. Blanchard, Portland, Me. A. L.

Telegram to General J. B. Steedman

Executive Mansion, September 15, 1864.

Major-General ..Steedman, Chattanooga, Tenn.: Mrs. McElrath, of East Tennessee, is here, saying she has been sent away by your order, and appealing to me to allow her to re-

turn to her home. I have told her I will, if you say so. What say you? A. LINCOLN.

TELEGRAM TO GENERAL W. T. SHERMAN[1]

WASHINGTON, D. C., September 17, 1864. 10 A. M.

Major-General Sherman, Atlanta, Georgia:

I feel great interest in the subjects of your despatch mentioning corn and sorghum, and the contemplated visit to you.

A. LINCOLN,
President of the United States.

LETTER TO GENERAL W. T. SHERMAN[2]

EXECUTIVE MANSION, September 19, 1864.

Major-General Sherman: The State election of Indiana occurs on the 11th of October, and the loss of it, to the friends of the government, would go far toward losing the whole Union cause. The bad effect upon the November election, and especially the giving the State government to those who will oppose the war in every possible way, are too much to risk, if it can possibly be avoided. The draft proceeds,

[1] See *Sherman's Memoirs,* Vol. II, pp. 138, 139.

[2] In writing General Sherman, Lincoln rigidly adhered to his measures taken during the summer, even were they to cost him the election, which he feared. The July draft for 500,000 volunteers had been the sorest point. Many Union men in Indiana thought it would cost Lincoln their State, but when votes were counted Indiana indicated a gain of 30,000 in two years.

notwithstanding its strong tendency to lose us the State. Indiana is the only important State, voting in October, whose soldiers cannot vote in the field. Anything you can safely do to let her soldiers, or any part of them, go home and vote at the State election will be greatly in point. They need not remain for the Presidential election, but may return to you at once. This is in no sense an order, but is merely intended to impress you with the importance, to the army itself, of your doing all you safely can, yourself being the judge of what you can safely do.

Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO J. S. TEN EYCK

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, D. C.,
September 19, 1864.

My dear Sir: Dr. J. R. Freese, now editor of a leading Union journal in New Jersey, resided for a time in Illinois, where and when I made his acquaintance, and since when I have enjoyed much of his friendship. He is somewhat wounded with me now, that I do not recognize him as he thinks I ought. I wish to appoint him a provost-marshal in your State. May I have your approval?

Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

Telegram to General P. Sheridan

Executive Mansion, September 20, 1864.

Major-General Sheridan, Winchester, Va.: Have just heard of your great victory. God bless you all, officers and men. Strongly inclined to come up and see you.

A. Lincoln.

Letter to General E. R. S. Canby

Executive Mansion, Washington, D. C.,
September 21, 1864.

Major-General Canby: General Baily of Rapides Parish, Louisiana, is vouched to me as entirely trustworthy, and appeals to me in behalf of the people in his region, who he says are mostly Union people, and are in great destitution—almost absolute starvation. He says their condition is greatly aggravated by General Banks's expedition up Red River, last spring, in reliance upon which they mostly took the oath of allegiance.

Of course what General Baily asks is permission to carry provisions to them.

This I will not give without your consent, but I will thank you to hear and consider their case, and do for them the best you can, consistently with the interests of the public service.

Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

Letter to General U. S. Grant

Executive Mansion, September 22, 1864.

Lieutenant-General Grant: I send this as an explanation to you, and to do justice to the Secretary of War. I was induced, upon pressing application, to authorize the agents of one of the districts of Pennsylvania to recruit in one of the prison depots in Illinois; and the thing went so far before it came to the knowledge of the Secretary that, in my judgment, it could not be abandoned without greater evil than would follow its going through. I did not know at the time that you had protested against that class of thing being done; and I now say that while this particular job must be completed, no other of the sort will be authorized, without an understanding with you, if at all. The Secretary of War is wholly free of any part in this blunder.

Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

Letter to Postmaster-General Blair

Executive Mansion, September 23, 1864.

My dear Sir: You have generously said to me more than once that whenever your resignation could be a relief to me it was at my disposal. The time has come. You very well know that this proceeds from no dissatisfaction of mine with you personally or officially. Your

uniform kindness has been unsurpassed by that of any friend; and while it is true that the war does not so greatly add to the difficulties of your department as to those of some others, it is yet much to say, as I most truly can, that in the three years and a half during which you have administered the general post-office, I remember no single complaint against you in connection therewith. Yours, A. LINCOLN.

Order Concerning the Purchase of Products in Insurrectionary States

Executive Mansion, September 24, 1864.

I. CONGRESS having authorized the purchase for the United States of the products of States declared in insurrection, and the Secretary of the Treasury having designated New Orleans, Memphis, Nashville, Pensacola, Port Royal, Beaufort (North Carolina), and Norfolk, as places of purchase, and, with my approval, appointed agents and made regulations under which said products may be purchased, therefore:

II. All persons except such as may be in the civil, military, or naval service of the government, having in their possession any products of States or part of States declared in insurrection, which said agents are authorized to purchase, and all persons owning or controlling such products therein are authorized to convey such products to either of the places which have been hereby or may hereafter be designated as places of purchase, and such products so destined shall not

be liable to detention, seizure, or forfeiture while *in transitu,* or in store waiting transportation.

III. Any person having the certificate of a purchasing agent, as prescribed by Treasury Regulation VIII, is authorized to pass with the necessary means of transportation to the points named in said certificate, and to return therefrom with the products required for the fulfilment of the stipulations set forth in said certificate.

IV. Any person having sold and delivered to a purchasing agent any products of an insurrectionary State in accordance with the regulations in relation thereto, and having in his possession a certificate setting forth the fact of such purchase and sale, the character and quantity of products, and the aggregate amount paid therefor, as prescribed by Regulation I, shall be permitted by the military authority commanding at the place of sale to purchase from any authorized dealer at such place merchandise and other articles not contraband of war nor prohibited by order of the War Department, nor coin, bullion, or foreign exchange, to an amount not exceeding in value one third of the aggregate value of the products sold by him as certified by the agents purchasing, and the merchandise and other articles so purchased may be transported by the same route, and to the same place, from

and by which the products sold and delivered reached the purchasing agent, as set forth in the certificate, and such merchandise and other articles shall have safe conduct, and shall not be subject to detention, seizure, or forfeiture while being transported to the places and by the routes set forth in the said certificate.

V. Generals commanding military districts, and commandants of military posts and detachments, and officers commanding fleets, flotillas, and gunboats, will give safe conduct to persons and products, merchandise, and other articles duly authorized as aforesaid, and not contraband of war, or prohibited by order of the War Department, or of the order of such generals commanding, or other duly authorized military or naval officer, made in pursuance hereof, and all persons hindering or preventing such safe conduct of persons or property will be deemed guilty of a military offense and punished accordingly.

VI. Any person transporting or attempting to transport any merchandise or other articles except in pursuance of regulations of the Secretary of the Treasury, dated July 29, 1864, or in pursuance of this order, or transporting or attempting to transport any merchandise or other articles contraband of war or forbidden by any order of the War Department, will be deemed

guilty of a military offense and punished accordingly; and all products of insurrectionary States found *in transitu* to any other person or place, than a purchasing agent and a designated place of purchase shall be seized and forfeited to the United States, except such as may be moving to a loyal State under duly authorized permits of a proper officer of the Treasury Department, as prescribed by Regulation XXXVIII, concerning commercial intercourse, dated July 29, 1864, or such as may have been found abandoned, or have been captured and are moving in pursuance of the act of March 12, 1864.

VII. No military or naval officer of the United States, or person in the military or naval service, nor any civil officer, except such as are appointed for that purpose, shall engage in trade or traffic in the products of the insurrectionary States, or furnish transportation therefore under pain of being deemed guilty of unlawful trading with the enemy and punished accordingly.

VIII. The Secretary of War will make such general orders or regulations as will insure the proper observance and execution of this order, and the Secretary of the Navy will give instructions to officers commanding fleets, flotillas, and gunboats in conformity therewith.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

Telegram to William Dennison

Washington, D. C., September 24, 1864.

Governor Dennison, Columbus, O.: Mr. Blair has resigned and I appoint you Postmaster-General. Come on immediately.

A. Lincoln

Telegram to S. G. Burbridge

Executive Mansion, September 26, 1864.

Major-General Burbridge, Lexington, Ky.: Terrible complaints are being made as to the discharge of Meade at Louisville. Please report the particulars of the case, including grounds of discharge. A. Lincoln.

Letter to General W. S. Rosecrans

Executive Mansion, September 26, 1864.

Major-General Rosecrans: One cannot always safely disregard a report, even which one may not believe. I have a report that you incline to deny the soldiers the right of attending the election in Missouri, on the assumed ground that they will get drunk and make disturbance. Last year I sent General Schofield a letter of instruction, dated October 1, 1863, which I suppose you will find on the files of the department, and which contains among other things the following: "At elections see that those, and only

those, are allowed to vote who are entitled to do so by the laws of Missouri, including as of those laws the restrictions laid by the Missouri Convention upon those who may have participated in the rebellion." This I thought right then, and think right now; and, I may add, I do not remember that either party complained after the election of General Schofield's action under it. Wherever the law allows soldiers to vote, their officers must also allow it. Please write me on this subject. Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

TELEGRAM TO GENERAL W. T. SHERMAN

WASHINGTON, D. C., September 27, 1864.

Major-General Sherman, Atlanta, Ga.: You say Jefferson Davis is on a visit to Hood. I judge that Brown and Stephens are the objects of his visit. A. LINCOLN.

TELEGRAM TO WILLIAM DENNISON

WASHINGTON, D. C., September 27, 1864.

Governor Dennison, Columbus, O.: Yours received. Come so soon as you can.

A. LINCOLN.

TELEGRAM TO GENERAL B. F. BUTLER

EXECUTIVE MANSION, September 27, 1864.

Major-General Butler, Bermuda Hundred, Va.: Assistant Surgeon William Crouse is here,

complaining that you have dismissed him, and ordered him out of the department. Please telegraph me briefly the reasons.

A. LINCOLN.

TELEGRAM TO J. R. CANNON

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, D. C.,
September 28, 1864.

J. R. Cannon, New Albany, Ind.: It will be impossible for me to attend your ratification meeting. Thank you for the invitation.

A. LINCOLN.

TELEGRAM TO GENERAL B. F. BUTLER

EXECUTIVE MANSION, September 28, 1864.

Major-General Butler, Bermuda Hundred, Va.: For what offense was the money of John H. Lester confiscated? Please answer, and, if practicable, send me the record of confiscation.

A. LINCOLN.

TELEGRAM TO GENERAL U. S. GRANT

WASHINGTON, D. C., September 29, 1864. 10 A. M.

Lieutenant-General Grant, City Point, Va.: I hope it will have no constraint on you, nor do harm any way, for me to say I am a little afraid lest Lee sends reinforcements to Early, and thus enable him to turn upon Sheridan.

A. LINCOLN.

Order of Thanks to Hundred-day Troops

Executive Mansion, October 1, 1864.

The term of one hundred days for which volunteers from the States of Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, and Wisconsin volunteered, under the call of their respective governors, in the months of May and June, to aid the recent campaign of General Sherman, having expired, the President directs an official acknowledgment to be made of their patriotic service. It was their good fortune to render effective service in the brilliant operations in the Southwest, and to contribute to the victories of the national arms over the rebel forces in Georgia, under command of Johnston and Hood. On all occasions, and in every service to which they were assigned, their duty as patriotic volunteers was performed with alacrity and courage, for which they are entitled to, and are hereby tendered, the national thanks through the governors of their respective States.

The Secretary of War is directed to transmit a copy of this order to the governors of Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, and Wisconsin, and to cause a certificate of their honorable services to be delivered to the officers and soldiers of the States above named, who recently served in the military service of the United States as volunteers for one hundred days. A. Lincoln.

* Recommendation of Mrs. Hough

Executive Mansion, October 3, 1864.

I have but slight personal acquaintance with the bearer of this, Mrs. Lotty Hough; but I have known something of her by reputation for several years and never heard aught against her. She is now struggling to support herself and her little boy, and I hope she may be afforded fair opportunities to succeed. A. Lincoln.

Letter to General U. S. Grant

Executive Mansion, October 5, 1864.

Lieutenant-General Grant: I inclose you a copy of a correspondence in regard to a contemplated exchange of naval prisoners through your lines, and not very distant from your headquarters. It only came to the knowledge of the War Department and of myself yesterday, and it gives us some uneasiness. I therefore send it to you with the statement that, as the numbers to be exchanged under it are small, and so much has already been done to effect the exchange, I hope you may find it consistent to let it go forward under the general supervision of General Butler, and particularly in reference to the points he holds vital in exchanges. Still, you are at liberty to arrest the whole operation if in your judgment the public good requires it. A. Lincoln.

Telegram to Simon Cameron

Washington, D. C., October 9, 1864.

General Simon Cameron, Philadelphia: There is absolutely no news here from the Army of the Potomac not published in Stanton's bulletins of yesterday and before. The line is open and mere business despatches are passing over it. Have no alarm on bogus despatches.

A. Lincoln.

Letter to Henry W. Hoffman

Executive Mansion, October 10, 1864.

My dear Sir: A convention of Maryland has framed a new constitution for the State; a public meeting is called for this evening at Baltimore to aid in securing its ratification by the people, and you ask a word from me for the occasion. I presume the only feature of the instrument about which there is serious controversy is that which provides for the extinction of slavery. It needs not to be a secret, and I presume it is no secret, that I wish success to this provision. I desire it on every consideration. I wish all men to be free. I wish the material prosperity of the already free, which I feel sure the extinction of slavery would bring. I wish to see in process of disappearing that only thing which ever could bring this nation to civil war. I attempt no

argument. Argument upon the question is already exhausted by the abler, better informed, and more immediately interested sons of Maryland herself. I only add that I shall be gratified exceedingly if the good people of the State shall, by their votes, ratify the new constitution.

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

* TELEGRAM TO GOVERNOR A. G. CURTIN

WAR DEPARTMENT, October 10, 1864. 5 P. M.

Governor Curtin, Harrisburg, Pa.: Yours of to-day just this moment received, and the Secretary having left it is impossible for me to answer to-day. I have not received your letter from Erie.

A. LINCOLN.

* TELEGRAM TO SIMON CAMERON

WAR DEPARTMENT, October 11, 1864.

General S. Cameron, Philadelphia: Am leaving office to go home. How does it stand now?

A. LINCOLN.

TELEGRAM TO GOVERNOR A. G. CURTIN

WASHINGTON, D. C., October 11, 1864.

Governor Curtin, Harrisburg, Pa.: On looking up the Colonel Stover case this morning, I find we could not, without further information, be at all justified in ordering him to be mus-

tered. I hope it can be made straight, but the record as it stands is too bad. A copy will be immediately sent you by mail.

A. LINCOLN.

TELEGRAM TO R. T. LINCOLN

WASHINGTON, D. C., October 11, 1864.

Robert T. Lincoln, Cambridge, Mass.: Your letter makes us a little uneasy about your health. Telegraph us how you are. If you think it would help you, make us a visit. A. LINCOLN.

TELEGRAM TO GENERAL U. S. GRANT

WASHINGTON, D. C., October 12, 1864.

Lieutenant-General Grant, City Point, Va.: Secretary of War not being in, I answer yours about election. Pennsylvania very close, and still in doubt on home vote. Ohio largely for us, with all the members of Congress but two or three. Indiana largely for us,—governor, it is said, by 15,000, and eight of the eleven members of Congress. Send us what you may know of your army vote. A. LINCOLN.

* TELEGRAM TO G. S. ORTH

WAR DEPARTMENT, October 13, 1864.

Hon. G. S. Orth, Lafayette, Ind.: I now incline to defer the appointment of judge until the meeting of Congress. A. LINCOLN.

Telegram to Governor Oliver P. Morton

Washington, D. C., October 13, 1864.

Governor Morton, Indianapolis, Ind.: In my letter borne by Mr. Mitchell to General Sherman, I said that any soldiers he could spare for October need not to remain for November. I therefore cannot press the general on this point. All that the Secretary of War and General Sherman feel they can safely do, I, however, shall be glad of. Bravo for Indiana and for yourself personally! A. Lincoln.

Telegram to General B. F. Butler

Executive Mansion, October 14, 1864.

Major-General Butler: It is said that Captain Joseph R. Findley, of Company F, 76th Pennsylvania Volunteers, has been summarily dismissed the service for supposed skulking. Such representations are made to me of his good character, long service, and good behavior in many battles, as to induce the wish that you would reexamine his case. At all events, send me a statement of it as you have it. A. Lincoln.

Telegram to Governor A. G. Curtin

Executive Department,
Washington, D. C., October 17, 1864.

Governor Curtin, Harrisburg, Pa.: Your in-

formation is erroneous. No part of Sheridan's force has left him, except by expiration of terms of service. I think there is not much danger of a raid into Pennsylvania.

A. LINCOLN.

RESPONSE TO A SERENADE, October 19, 1864

Friends and Fellow-citizens: I am notified that this is a compliment paid me by the loyal Marylanders resident in this district. I infer that the adoption of the new constitution for the State furnishes the occasion, and that in your view the extirpation of slavery constitutes the chief merit of the new constitution. Most heartily do I congratulate you, and Maryland, and the nation, and the world, upon this event. I regret that it did not occur two years sooner, which, I am sure, would have saved to the nation more money than would have met all the private loss incident to the measure; but it has come at last, and I sincerely hope its friends may fully realize all their anticipations of good from it, and that its opponents may by its effects be agreeably and profitably disappointed.

A word upon another subject. Something said by the Secretary of State, in his recent speech at Auburn, has been construed by some into a threat that if I shall be beaten at the election I will, between then and the end of my constitu-

tional term, do what I may be able to ruin the government. Others regard the fact that the Chicago Convention adjourned, not *sine die,* but to meet again, if called to do so by a particular individual, as the intimation of a purpose that if their nominee shall be elected he will at once seize control of the government. I hope the good people will permit themselves to suffer no uneasiness on either point.

I am struggling to maintain the government, not to overthrow it. I am struggling, especially, to prevent others from overthrowing it. I therefore say that if I shall live I shall remain President until the 4th of next March; and that whoever shall be constitutionally elected therefor, in November, shall be duly installed as President on the 4th of March; and that, in the interval, I shall do my utmost that whoever is to hold the helm for the next voyage shall start with the best possible chance to save the ship.

This is due to the people both on principle and under the Constitution. Their will, constitutionally expressed, is the ultimate law for all. If they should deliberately resolve to have immediate peace, even at the loss of their country and their liberty, I know not the power or the right to resist them. It is their own business, and they must do as they please with their own. I believe, however, they are still resolved to preserve their

country and their liberty; and in this, in office or out of it, I am resolved to stand by them.

I may add that in this purpose—to save the country and its liberties—no classes of people seem so nearly unanimous as the soldiers in the field and the sailors afloat. Do they not have the hardest of it? Who should quail when they do not? God bless the soldiers and seamen, with all their brave commanders.

Proclamation of Thanksgiving, October 20, 1864

By the President of the United States of America:

A Proclamation.

It has pleased Almighty God to prolong our national life another year, defending us with his guardian care against unfriendly designs from abroad, and vouchsafing to us in his mercy many and signal victories over the enemy, who is of our own household. It has also pleased our heavenly Father to favor as well our citizens in their homes as our soldiers in their camps, and our sailors on the rivers and seas, with unusual health. He has largely augmented our free population by emancipation and by immigration, while he has opened to us new sources of wealth, and has crowned the labor of our working-men in every department of industry with abundant

rewards. Moreover, he has been pleased to animate and inspire our minds and hearts with fortitude, courage, and resolution sufficient for the great trial of civil war into which we have been brought by our adherence as a nation to the cause of freedom and humanity, and to afford to us reasonable hopes of an ultimate and happy deliverance from all our dangers and afflictions.

Now, therefore, I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, do hereby appoint and set apart the last Thursday of November next as a day which I desire to be observed by all my fellow-citizens, wherever they may then be, as a day of thanksgiving and praise to Almighty God, the beneficent Creator and Ruler of the universe. And I do further recommend to my fellow-citizens aforesaid, that on that occasion they do reverently humble themselves in the dust, and from thence offer up penitent and fervent prayers and supplications to the great Disposer of events for a return of the inestimable blessings of peace, union, and harmony throughout the land which it has pleased him to assign as a dwelling-place for ourselves and for our posterity throughout all generations.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington, this twentieth

day of October, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-four and of the independence of the United States the eighty-ninth. ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

By the President: WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Secretary of State.

TELEGRAM TO J. G. NICOLAY

WASHINGTON, D. C., October 21, 1864. 9.45 P. M.

J. G. Nicolay, St. Louis, Mo.: While Curtis is fighting Price, have you any idea where the force under Rosecrans is, or what it is doing?

A. LINCOLN.

Letter to William B. Campbell and Others [1]

Executive Mansion, Washington, D. C.,
October 22, 1864.

GENTLEMEN: On the fifteenth day of this month, as I remember, a printed paper, with a few manuscript interlineations, called a protest, with your names appended thereto, and accompanied by another printed paper purporting to be a proclamation by Andrew Johnson, military governor of Tennessee, and also a manuscript paper purporting to be extracts from the Code of Tennessee, was laid before me. The protest, proclamation, and extracts are respectively as follows:

[The protest is here recited, and also the proclamation of Governor Johnson, dated September 30, to which it refers, together with a list of the counties, in East, Middle, and West Tennessee; also an extract from the Code of Tennessee, in relation to electors of President and Vice-Presi-

[1] Addressed to Messrs. Wm. B. Campbell, Thomas A. R. Nelson, James T. P. Carter, John Williams, A. Blizzard, Henry Cooper, Bailie Peyton, John Lellyett, E. Etheridge, John D. Perrymans.

dent of the United States, the qualifications of voters for members of the General Assembly, and the places of holding elections of officers of popular elections.]

At the time these papers were presented, as before stated, I had never seen either of them, nor heard of the subject to which they relate, except in a general way, only one day previously. Up to the present moment nothing whatever has passed between Governor Johnson, or any one else connected with the proclamation, and myself. Since receiving the papers, as stated, I have given the subject such brief consideration as I have been able to do in the midst of so many pressing public duties.

My conclusion is that I have nothing to do with the matter, either to sustain the plan as the convention and Governor Johnson have initiated it, or to revoke or modify it as you demand. By the Constitution and laws, the President is charged with no duty in the conduct of a presidential election in any State; nor do I, in this case, perceive any military reason for his interference in the matter.

The movement set on foot by the convention and Governor Johnson does not, as seems to be assumed by you, emanate from the national executive. In no proper sense can it be considered other than as an independent movement of at

least a portion of the loyal people of Tennessee.

I do not perceive in the plan any menace of violence or coercion toward any one. Governor Johnson, like any other loyal citizen of Tennessee, has the right to favor any political plan he chooses, and, as military governor, it is his duty to keep the peace among and for the loyal people of the State. I cannot discern that by this plan he purposes any more.

But you object to the plan. Leaving it alone will be your perfect security against it. Do as you please on your own account, peacefully and loyally, and Governor Johnson will not molest you, but will protect you against violence so far as lies in his power.

I presume that the conducting of a presidential election in Tennessee in strict accordance with the old code of the State is not now a possibility.

It is scarcely necessary to add that if any election shall be held, and any votes shall be cast in the State of Tennessee for President and Vice-President of the United States, it will belong, not to the military agents, nor yet to the executive department, but exclusively to another department of the government, to determine whether they are entitled to be counted in conformity with the Constitution and laws of the United States.

Except it be to give protection against violence, I decline to interfere in any way with any presidential election.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

TELEGRAM TO GENERAL P. H. SHERIDAN

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, D. C.,
October 22, 1864.

Major-General Sheridan: With great pleasure I tender to you and your brave army the thanks of the nation, and my own personal admiration and gratitude, for the month's operations in the Shenandoah Valley; and especially for the splendid work of October 19, 1864.[1]

Your obedient servant,
ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

TELEGRAM TO GENERAL G. H. THOMAS

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, D. C.,
October 23, 1864. 5 P. M.

Major-General Thomas, Nashville, Tenn.: I have received information to-day, having great

[1] October 19, 1864, Sheridan defeated Early in the battle of Cedar Creek, a victory which ended the fighting in the Shenandoah Valley. It was this battle that suggested the subject of the well-known poem, "Sheridan's Ride," by Thomas Buchanan Read. The victory, the third for the Union troops within thirty days, was received throughout the country with the greatest enthusiasm and Sheridan was rewarded by a Major-Generalship in the regular army. Early's army was never again, as a whole, an effective fighting force, so complete was the Union victory.

appearance of authenticity, that there is to be a rebel raid into Western Kentucky; that it is to consist of 4,000 infantry and 3,000 cavalry, and is to start from Corinth, Mississippi, on the fourth day of November.

A. LINCOLN, President.

Send copy to General Washburn at Memphis.

A. L.

ADDRESS TO THE 189TH NEW YORK REGIMENT, October 24, 1864

Soldiers: I am exceedingly obliged to you for this mark of respect. It is said that we have the best government the world ever knew, and I am glad to meet you, the supporters of that government. To you who render the hardest work in its support should be given the greatest credit. Others who are connected with it, and who occupy higher positions, can be dispensed with, but we cannot get along without your aid. While others differ with the administration, and, perhaps, honestly, the soldiers generally have sustained it; they have not only fought right, but, so far as could be judged from their actions, they have voted right, and I for one thank you for it. I know you are *en route* for the front, and therefore do not expect me to detain you long. I will now bid you good morning.

* Telegram to Colonel Robinson

Executive Mansion, October 25, 1864.

Lieutenant-Colonel Robinson, near Petersburg, Va.: Please inform me what is the condition of, and what is being done with Lieut. Charles Saumenig, in your command.

A. Lincoln.

Note to Mrs. George W. Swift

Executive Mansion, Washington, D. C.,
October 26, 1864.

My dear Madam: Your complimentary little poem asking for my autograph was duly received. I thank you for it, and cheerfully comply with your request. Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

Unfinished Draft of Letter to J. R. Underwood and H. Grider

Executive Mansion, Washington, D. C.,
October 26, 1864.

Gentlemen: A petition has been presented to me on behalf of certain citizens of Allen and Barren counties, in the State of Kentucky, assuming that certain sums of money have been assessed and collected from them by the United States military authorities to compensate certain Union citizens of the same vicinage for losses

by rebel depredations, and praying that I will order the money to be refunded. The petition is accompanied by a letter of yours, which so presents the case as to induce me to make a brief response. You distinctly admit that the petitioners "sympathize with the Confederate States and regard them as warring to preserve their Constitutional and legal rights." This admitted, it is scarcely possible to believe that they do not help the cause they thus love whenever they conveniently can. Their sons and relatives go into the rebel [armies], but we may not be able to distinctly prove that they outfitted and sent them. When armed rebels come among them their houses and other property are spared while Union men's houses are burned and their property pillaged. Still, we may not be able to specifically prove that the sympathizers protected and supplied the raiders in turn, or designated their Union neighbors for plunder and devastation. Yet we know all this exists, even better than we could know an isolated fact upon the sworn testimony of one or two witnesses; just as we better know there is fire whence we see much smoke rising than we could know it by one or two witnesses swearing to it. The witnesses may commit perjury, but the smoke cannot. Now, experience has already taught us in this war that holding these smoky localities responsible for

the conflagrations within them has a very salutary effect. It was obviously so in and about St. Louis, and on [the] eastern shore of Virginia.

Letter to General S. G. Burbridge

Executive Mansion, Washington, D. C.,
October 27, 1864.

Major-General Burbridge: It is represented to me that an officer has, by your authority, assessed and collected considerable sums of money from citizens of Allen and Barren counties, Kentucky, to compensate Union men for depredations committed upon them in the vicinity by rebels; and I am petitioned to order the money to be refunded. At most, I could not do this without hearing both sides, which, as yet, I have not. I write now to say that, in my opinion, in some extreme cases this class of proceedings becomes a necessity; but that it is liable to—almost inseparable from—great abuses, and therefore should only be sparingly resorted to, and be conducted with great caution; that you, in your department, must be the judge of the proper localities and occasions for applying it; and that it will be well for you to see that your subordinates be at all times ready to account for every dollar, as to why collected, of whom, and how applied. Without this you will soon find some of them making assessments and collections merely to

put money in their own pockets, and it will also be impossible to correct errors in future and better times.

In the case I have mentioned, such good men as Hon. J. R. Underwood and Hon. Henry Grider, though not personally interested, have appealed to me in behalf of others. So soon as you can, consistently with your other duties, I will thank you to acquaint yourself with the particulars of this case, and make any correction which may seem to be proper. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

TELEGRAM TO A. G. HODGES

EXECUTIVE MANSION, October 28, 1864.

Hon. A. G. Hodges, Frankfort, Ky.: Mrs. Margaret C. Price is here, asking that her son, Philemon B. Price, now a prisoner of war at Camp Chase may be discharged, and I have told her I will do it if you say so. What say you?

A. LINCOLN.

TELEGRAM TO J. A. PRALL

EXECUTIVE MANSION, October 28, 1864.

J. A. Prall, Paris, Ky.: Mrs. George W. Bowen is here, asking for the discharge of her husband, now a prisoner of war at Camp Chase, and I have told her I will do it if you say so. What say you? A. LINCOLN.

*Telegram to T. T. Davis

Executive Mansion, October 31, 1864.

Hon. Thomas T. Davis, Syracuse, N. Y.: I have ordered that Milton D. Norton be discharged on taking the oath. Please notify his mother. A. Lincoln.

Proclamation admitting Nevada into the Union, October 31, 1864

By the President of the United States of America:

A Proclamation.

Whereas the Congress of the United States passed an act, which was approved on the twenty-first day of March last, entitled "An act to enable the people of Nevada to form a constitution and State government, and for the admission of such State into the Union on an equal footing with the original States";

And whereas the said constitution and State government have been formed, pursuant to the conditions prescribed by the fifth section of the act of Congress aforesaid, and the certificate required by the said act, and also a copy of the constitution and ordinances, have been submitted to the President of the United States:

Now, therefore, be it known that I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, in ac-

cordance with the duty imposed upon me by the Act of Congress aforesaid, do hereby declare and proclaim that the said State of Nevada is admitted into the Union on an equal footing with the original States.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington, this thirty-first day of October, in the year
[L. S.] of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-four, and of the independence of the United States the eighty-ninth.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

By the President: WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Secretary of State.

NOTE TO SECRETARY STANTON

EXECUTIVE MANSION, October 31, 1864.

Sir: Herewith is a letter of Governor Curtin, which speaks for itself. I suggest for your consideration, whether, to the extent of, say, 5,000, we might not exempt from the draft, upon the men being put in good shape to defend and give assurance to the border. I have not said even this much to the bearer, General Todd, whom I hope you will see and hear.

Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

Indorsement, November 5, 1864

War Department, Washington City.

Mr. President: Please read the accompanying telegram, just received, and favor me with your judgment on the point presented by General Butler, so that I can answer him. Yours truly,

E. M. Stanton.

[*Indorsement.*]

I think this might lie over till morning. The tendency of the order, it seems to me, is to bring on a collision with the State authority, which I would rather avoid, at least until the necessity for it is more apparent than it yet is.

A. Lincoln.

Telegram to Secretary Seward

Washington, D. C., November 6, 1864.

Hon. William H. Seward, Auburn, N. Y.: Nothing of much importance. Day before yesterday rebels destroyed two or more of our wooden gunboats at Johnsonville on Tennessee River. Curtis, on the 4th, was at Fayetteville, Arkansas, still pursuing and damaging Price. Richmond papers say Yankees landed at Escambia Bay, below Hilton, not far from Mobile, captured fifty men and destroyed all camp equipage, wagons, salt works, etc., and everything in and about Hilton. Richmond papers also confirm the de-

struction of the *Albemarle,* and the consequent evacuation of Plymouth, North Carolina.

A. LINCOLN.

TELEGRAM TO NAVAL OFFICER AT MOBILE BAY

EXECUTIVE MANSION, Nov. 6, 1864. 9 P. M.

Major-General Canby, New Orleans, La.: Please forward with all possible despatch to the naval officer commanding at Mobile Bay the following order. A. LINCOLN.

[*Inclosure.*]

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, D. C.,
November 6, 1864.

Naval Officer in Command at Mobile Bay: Do not on any account, or on any showing of authority whatever, from whomsoever purporting to come, allow the blockade to be violated.

A. LINCOLN.

TELEGRAM TO SAILORS' FAIR AT BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS

WASHINGTON, D. C., November 8, 1864.

Allow me to wish you a great success. With the old fame of the navy made brighter in the present war you cannot fail. I name none lest I wrong others by omission. To all, from rear-admiral to honest Jack, I tender the nation's admiration and gratitude.

A. LINCOLN.

Telegram to A. H. Rice

Executive Mansion, November 8, 1864.

Hon. A. H. Rice, Boston, Mass.: Yours received. I have no other notice that the ox is mine. If it be really so, I present it to the Sailors' Fair as a contribution. A. Lincoln.

Telegram to Secretary Seward

Washington, November 8, 1864.

Hon. William H. Seward, Auburn, N. Y.: News from Grant, Sherman, Thomas, and Rosecrans satisfactory, but not important. Pirate *Florida* captured by the *Wachusett* October 7, on the coast of Brazil. The information is certain.

A. Lincoln.

Response to a Serenade, November 9, 1864

Friends and Fellow-citizens: Even before I had been informed by you that this compliment was paid me by loyal citizens of Pennsylvania, friendly to me, I had inferred that you were of that portion of my countrymen who think that the best interests of the nation are to be subserved by the support of the present administration. I do not pretend to say that you, who think so, embrace all the patriotism and loyalty of the country, but I do believe, and I trust without per-

sonal interest, that the welfare of the country does require that such support and indorsement should be given.

I earnestly believe that the consequences of this day's work, if it be as you assume, and as now seems probable, will be to the lasting advantage, if not to the very salvation, of the country. I cannot at this hour say what has been the result of the election. But, whatever it may be, I have no desire to modify this opinion: that all who have labored to-day in behalf of the Union have wrought for the best interests of the country and the world; not only for the present, but for all future ages.

I am thankful to God for this approval of the people; but, while deeply grateful for this mark of their confidence in me, if I know my heart, my gratitude is free from any taint of personal triumph. I do not impugn the motives of any one opposed to me. It is no pleasure to me to triumph over any one, but I give thanks to the Almighty for this evidence of the people's resolution to stand by free government and the rights of humanity.

* Telegram to H. W. Hoffman

War Department, November 10, 1864.

H. W. Hoffman, Baltimore, Md.: The Maryland soldiers in the Army of the Potomac cast a

total vote of 1,428, out of which we get 1,160 majority. This is directly from General Meade and General Grant. A. LINCOLN.

RESPONSE TO A SERENADE, November 10, 1864

It has long been a grave question whether any government, not too strong for the liberties of its people, can be strong enough to maintain its existence in great emergencies. On this point the present rebellion brought our republic to a severe test, and a presidential election occurring in regular course during the rebellion, added not a little to the strain.

If the loyal people united were put to the utmost of their strength by the rebellion, must they not fail when divided and partially paralyzed by a political war among themselves? But the election was a necessity. We cannot have free government without elections; and if the rebellion could force us to forego or postpone a national election, it might fairly claim to have already conquered and ruined us. The strife of the election is but human nature practically applied to the facts of the case. What has occurred in this case must ever recur in similar cases. Human nature will not change. In any future great national trial, compared with the men of this, we shall have as weak and as strong, as silly and as wise, as bad and as good. Let us, there-

fore, study the incidents of this as philosophy to learn wisdom from, and none of them as wrongs to be revenged. But the election, along with its incidental and undesirable strife, has done good too. It has demonstrated that a people's government can sustain a national election in the midst of a great civil war. Until now, it has not been known to the world that this was a possibility. It shows, also, how sound and how strong we still are. It shows that, even among candidates of the same party, he who is most devoted to the Union and most opposed to treason can receive most of the people's votes. It shows, also, to the extent yet known, that we have more men now than we had when the war began. Gold is good in its place, but living, brave, patriotic men are better than gold.

But the rebellion continues, and now that the election is over, may not all having a common interest reunite in a common effort to save our common country? For my own part, I have striven and shall strive to avoid placing any obstacle in the way. So long as I have been here I have not willingly planted a thorn in any man's bosom. While I am deeply sensible to the high compliment of a reëlection, and duly grateful, as I trust, to Almighty God for having directed my countrymen to a right conclusion, as I think, for their own good, it adds nothing to my satis-

faction that any other man may be disappointed or pained by the result.

May I ask those who have not differed from me to join with me in this same spirit toward those who have? And now let me close by asking three hearty cheers for our brave soldiers and seamen and their gallant and skilful commanders.

Telegram to General S. G. Burbridge

Washington, D. C., November 10, 1864.

Major-General Burbridge, Lexington, Ky.: I have just received a telegram from Governor Bramlette saying: "General John B. Houston, a loyal man and prominent citizen, was arrested, and, yesterday, started off by General Burbridge, to be sent beyond our lines by way of Catlettsburg, for no other offense than opposition to your reëlection," and I have answered him as follows below, of which please take notice and report to me. A. Lincoln.

Telegram to Governor T. E. Bramlette

Washington, D. C., November 10, 1864.

Governor Bramlette, Frankfort, Ky.: Yours of yesterday received. I can scarcely believe that General John B. Houston has been arrested "for no other offense than opposition to my reelection"; for, if that had been deemed sufficient

cause of arrest, I should have heard of more than one arrest in Kentucky on election day. If, however, General Houston has been arrested for no other cause than opposition to my reëlection, General Burbridge will discharge him at once, I sending him a copy of this as an order to that effect. A. LINCOLN.

TELEGRAM TO GENERAL LOGAN

EXECUTIVE MANSION, November 12, 1864.

Major-General John A. Logan, Carbondale, Ill.: Yours of to-day just received. Some days ago I forwarded, to the care of Mr. Washburne, a leave for you to visit Washington, subject only to be countermanded by General Sherman. This qualification I thought was a necessary prudence for all concerned. Subject to it, you may remain at home thirty days, or come here at your own option. If, in view of maintaining your good relations with General Sherman, and of probable movements of his army, you can safely come here, I shall be very glad to see you.

A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO GENERAL S. A. HURLBUT

(*Private.*)

EXECUTIVE MANSION, November 14, 1864.

Major-General Hurlbut: Few things since I have been here have impressed me more pain-

fully than what, for four or five months past, has appeared a bitter military opposition to the new State government of Louisiana. I still indulged some hope that I was mistaken in the fact; but copies of a correspondence on the subject between General Canby and yourself, and shown me to-day, dispel that hope. A very fair proportion of the people of Louisiana have inaugurated a new State government, making an excellent new constitution—better for the poor black man than we have in Illinois. This was done under military protection, directed by me, in the belief, still sincerely entertained, that with such a nucleus around which to build we could get the State into position again sooner than otherwise. In this belief a general promise of protection and support, applicable alike to Louisiana and other States, was given in the last annual message. During the formation of the new government and constitution they were supported by nearly every loyal person, and opposed by every secessionist. And this support and this opposition, from the respective standpoints of the parties, was perfectly consistent and logical. Every Unionist ought to wish the new government to succeed; and every disunionist must desire it to fail. Its failure would gladden the heart of Slidell in Europe, and of every enemy of the old flag in the world. Every advocate of

slavery naturally desires to see blasted and crushed the liberty promised the black man by the new Constitution. But why General Canby and General Hurlbut should join on the same side is to me incomprehensible.

Of course, in the condition of things at New Orleans, the military must not be thwarted by the civil authority; but when the Constitutional Convention, for what it deems a breach of privilege, arrests an editor in no way connected with the military, the military necessity for insulting the Convention and forcibly discharging the editor is difficult to perceive. Neither is the military necessity for protecting the people against paying large salaries fixed by a legislature of their own choosing very apparent. Equally difficult to perceive is the military necessity for forcibly interposing to prevent a bank from loaning its own money to the State. These things, if they have occurred, are, at the best, no better than gratuitous hostility. I wish I could hope that they may be shown to not have occurred. To make assurance against misunderstanding, I repeat that in the existing condition of things in Louisiana, the military must not be thwarted by the civil authority; and I add that on points of difference the commanding general must be judge and master. But I also add that in the exercise of this judgment and control, a

purpose, obvious, and scarcely unavowed, to transcend all military necessity, in order to crush out the civil government, will not be overlooked.

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

* TELEGRAM TO GENERAL G. H. THOMAS

(*Cipher.*)

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., November 15, 1864.

Major-General Thomas, Nashville, Tenn.: How much force and artillery had Gillem?

A. LINCOLN.

* TELEGRAM TO W. H. PURNELL

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, D. C.,
November 15, 1864.

W. H. Purnell, Baltimore, Md.: I shall be happy to receive the committee on Thursday morning (17th) as you propose.

A. LINCOLN.

TELEGRAM TO J. K. DUBOIS

WAR DEPARTMENT, November 15, 1864.

Hon. Jesse K. Dubois, Springfield, Ill.: Yours of to-day, asking that 530 men may be assigned to the 32d Illinois, shall be attended to. You say: "State gone 25,000." Which way did it go? How stand the members of Congress and the other officers? A. LINCOLN.

Telegram to loyal Governors

Washington, November 15, 1864.

The Governor of Maine: Please send, as soon as practicable, exactly, or approximately, the aggregate of votes cast in your State at the late election. It is desired with reference to the forthcoming message. A. Lincoln.

Reply to Maryland Union Committee, November 17, 1864 [1]

The President, in reply, said that he had to confess he had been duly notified of the intention to make this friendly call some days ago, and in this he had had a fair opportunity afforded to be ready with a set speech; but he had not prepared one, being too busy for that purpose. He would say, however, that he was gratified with the result of the presidential election. He had kept as near as he could to the exercise of his best judgment for the interest of the whole country, and to have the seal of approbation stamped on the course he had pursued was exceedingly grateful to his feelings. He thought he could say, in as large a sense as any other man, that his

[1] The President fostered the growth of liberal sentiment in Maryland and gave it his constant personal support. The Emancipation constitution was adopted by a majority of only 375; but Lincoln's own majority was 7,414.

pleasure consisted in belief that the policy he had pursued was the best, if not the only one, for the safety of the country.

He had said before, and now repeated, that he indulged in no feeling of triumph over any man who thought or acted differently from himself. He had no such feeling toward any living man. When he thought of Maryland, in particular, he was of the opinion that she had more than double her share in what had occurred in the recent elections. The adoption of a free-State constitution was a greater thing than the part taken by the people of the State in the presidential election. He would any day have stipulated to lose Maryland in the presidential election to save it by the adoption of a free-State constitution, because the presidential election comes every four years, while that is a thing which, being done, cannot be undone. He therefore thought that in that they had a victory for the right worth a great deal more than their part in the presidential election, though of the latter he thought highly. He had once before said, but would say again, that those who have differed from us and opposed us will see that the result of the presidential election is better for their own good than if they had been successful.

Thanking the committee for their compliment, he brought his brief speech to a close.

Proclamation concerning Blockade, November 19, 1864

By the President of the United States of America:

A Proclamation.

Whereas, by my proclamation of the 19th of April, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-one, it was declared that the ports of certain States, including those of Norfolk in the State of Virginia, [and] Fernandina and Pensacola, in the State of Florida, were, for reasons therein set forth, intended to be placed under blockade; and whereas the said ports were subsequently blockaded accordingly, but having for some time past been in the military possession of the United States, it is deemed advisable that they should be opened to domestic and foreign commerce:

Now, therefore, be it known that I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, pursuant to the authority in me vested by the fifth section of the act of Congress, approved on the 13th of July, 1861, entitled "An act further to provide for the collection of duties on imports, and for other purposes," do hereby declare that the blockade of the said ports of Norfolk, Fernandina, and Pensacola shall so far cease and determine, from and after the first day of December

next, that commercial intercourse with those ports, except as to persons, things, and information contraband of war, may, from that time, be carried on, subject to the laws of the United States, to the limitations and in pursuance of the regulations which may be prescribed by the Secretary of the Treasury, and to such military and naval regulations as are now in force, or may hereafter be found necessary.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington, this nineteenth day of November, in the year
[L. S.] of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-four, and of the independence of the United States the eighty-ninth.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

By the President: WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Secretary of State.

LETTER TO GENERAL W. S. ROSECRANS

EXECUTIVE MANSION, November 19, 1864.

Major-General Rosecrans: A Major Wolf, as it seems, was under sentence in your department to be executed in retaliation for the murder of a Major Wilson, and I, without any particular knowledge of the facts, was induced by appeals for mercy to order the suspension of his

execution till further order. Understanding that you so desire, this letter places the case again within your control, with the remark only that I wish you to do nothing merely for revenge, but that what you may do shall be solely done with reference to the security of the future.

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

TELEGRAM TO A. R. WRIGHT

EXECUTIVE MANSION, November 21, 1864.

Hon. A. R. Wright, Louisville, Ky.: Admitting that your cotton was destroyed by the Federal army, I do not suppose anything could be done for you now. Congress has appropriated no money for that class of claims, and will not, I expect, while the active war lasts.

A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO MRS. BIXBY, OF BOSTON, MASS [1]

EXECUTIVE MANSION, November 21, 1864.

Dear Madam: I have been shown in the files of the War Department a statement of the Adjutant-General of Massachusetts that you are the mother of five sons who have died gloriously on the field of battle. I feel how weak and fruitless must be any words of mine which should attempt to beguile you from the grief of a loss so over-

[1] This is one of Lincoln's most famous letters on account of its evident sincerity and the purity of its expression.

whelming. But I cannot refrain from tendering to you the consolation that may be found in the thanks of the Republic they died to save. I pray that our heavenly Father may assuage the anguish of your bereavement, and leave you only the cherished memory of the loved and lost, and the solemn pride that must be yours to have laid so costly a sacrifice upon the altar of freedom.

Yours very sincerely and respectfully,

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

LETTER TO SECRETARY STANTON

EXECUTIVE MANSION, November 21, 1864.

My dear Sir: I now propose that Smithson and Yocum, respectively, be enlarged, allowing their sentences to stand as security for their good behavior—that is, not pardon them, but if they misbehave, re-arrest and imprison them on the old score.

Also, I think if Waring's premises down in Maryland are [not] in use by the government, he and his family might be allowed to re-occupy them. Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO JOHN PHILLIPS[1]

EXECUTIVE MANSION, November 21, 1864.

My dear Sir: I have heard of the incident at

[1] Deacon Phillips, of Sturbridge, Mass., was 104 years of age and had voted at every Presidential election since the formation

the polls in your town, in which you acted so honorable a part, and I take the liberty of writing to you to express my personal gratitude for the compliment paid me by the suffrage of a citizen so venerable.

The example of such devotion to civic duties in one whose days have already been extended an average lifetime beyond the Psalmist's limit, cannot but be valuable and fruitful. It is not for myself only, but for the country which you have in your sphere served so long and so well, that I thank you.

Your friend and servant,

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

TELEGRAM TO GOVERNOR BRAMLETTE

WASHINGTON, D. C., November 22, 1864.

Governor Bramlette, Frankfort, Ky.: Yours of to-day received. It seems that Lieutenant-Governor Jacobs and Colonel Wolford are stationary now. General Sudarth and Mr. Hodges are here, and the Secretary of War and myself are trying to devise means of pacification and harmony for Kentucky, which we hope to effect soon, now that the passion-exciting subject of the election is past. A. LINCOLN.

of the Government. His devotion greatly touched Lincoln, who felt profound gratitude for the people who had helped his election.

Telegram to Governor A. G. Curtin

Washington, D. C., November 25, 1864.

Governor Curtin, Harrisburg, Penn.: I have no knowledge, information, or belief, that three States, or any State, offer to resume allegiance.

A. Lincoln.

Letter to General N. P. Banks

Executive Mansion, November 26, 1864.

Major-General Banks: I had a full conference this morning with the Secretary of War in relation to yourself. The conclusion is that it will be best for all if you proceed to New Orleans and act there in obedience to your order; and, in doing which, having continued, say, one month, if it shall then, as now, be your wish to resign, your resignation will be accepted. Please take this course. Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

Telegram to Governor Stone.[1]

Executive Mansion, November 29, 1864.

Governor of Iowa: May I renew my request for the exact aggregate vote of your State, cast at the late election? My object fails if I do not receive it before Congress meets. A. Lincoln.

[1] Same to the Governors of Michigan, Wisconsin, Missouri, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Kansas, and West Virginia.—*N. and H.*

Telegram to James Speed.

Executive Mansion, December 1, 1864.

Hon. James Speed, Louisville, Ky.: I appoint you to be Attorney-General. Please come on at once. A. Lincoln.

Telegrams to Governor Johnson

Executive Mansion, December 1, 1864.

Governor Johnson, Nashville, Tenn.: I am applied to for the release of Alexander B. Kinney, John P. Carter, and Samuel A. Owens. Your name, commending their application to favorable consideration, is on the papers. If you will say directly that you think they ought to be discharged, I will discharge them. Answer.

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion, December 1, 1864.

Gov. Andrew Johnson, Nashville, Tenn.: In the cases of Alexander B. Kinney, John P. Carter, and Samuel A. Owens, Colonel William B. Stokes has recommended the release of all three. His recommendation is on file here.

A. Lincoln.

Letter to General N. P. Banks

Executive Mansion, December 2, 1864.

Major-General Banks: I know you are dis-

satisfied, which pains me very much, but I wish not to be argued with further. I entertain no abatement of confidence or friendship for you. I have told you why I cannot order General Canby from the Department of the Gulf—that he whom I must hold responsible for military results is not agreed. Yet I do believe that you, of all men, can best perform the part of advancing the new State government of Louisiana, and therefore I have wished you to go and try, leaving it to yourself to give up the trial at the end of a month if you find it impracticable, or personally too disagreeable.

This is certainly meant in no unkindness, but I wish to avoid further struggle about it

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

MEMORANDUM, December 3, 1864

On Thursday of last week, two ladies from Tennessee came before the President, asking the release of their husbands held as prisoners of war at Johnson's Island. They were put off until Friday, when they came again, and were again put off until Saturday. At each of the interviews one of the ladies urged that her husband was a religious man,[1] and on Saturday the

[1] The religious views held by Lincoln have been the subject of considerable contention. Many sects claim him as a follower, though he never joined a church nor expressed preference for

President ordered the release of the prisoners, when he said to this lady: "You say your husband is a religious man; tell him when you meet him, that I say I am not much of a judge of religion, but that, in my opinion, the religion that sets men to rebel and fight against their government, because, as they think, that government does not sufficiently help some men to eat their bread in the sweat of other men's faces, is not the sort of religion upon which people can get to heaven." A. LINCOLN.

MESSAGES TO CONGRESS, December 5, 1864

To the Senate and House of Representatives: In conformity to the law of July 16, 1862, I most cordially recommend that Captain John A. Winslow, United States Navy, receive a vote of thanks from Congress for the skill and gallantry exhibited by him in the brilliant action whilst in command of the United States steamer *Kearsarge,* which led to the total destruction of the piratical craft *Alabama,* on the 19th of June, 1864, a vessel superior in tonnage, superior in number of guns, and superior in number of crew.

This recommendation is specially made in or-

any orthodox or evangelical interpretation of Christianity. He had a strong and profound belief in Providence or God, and the triumph of right over wrong. Mrs. Lincoln often said she regarded him as a religious man by nature, though confirming no creed.

der to comply with the requirements of the ninth section of the aforesaid act, which is in the following words, viz.:

That any line officer of the navy or marine corps may be advanced one grade, if, upon recommendation by the President by name he receives the thanks of Congress for highly distinguished conduct in conflict with the enemy, or for extraordinary heroism in the line of his profession.

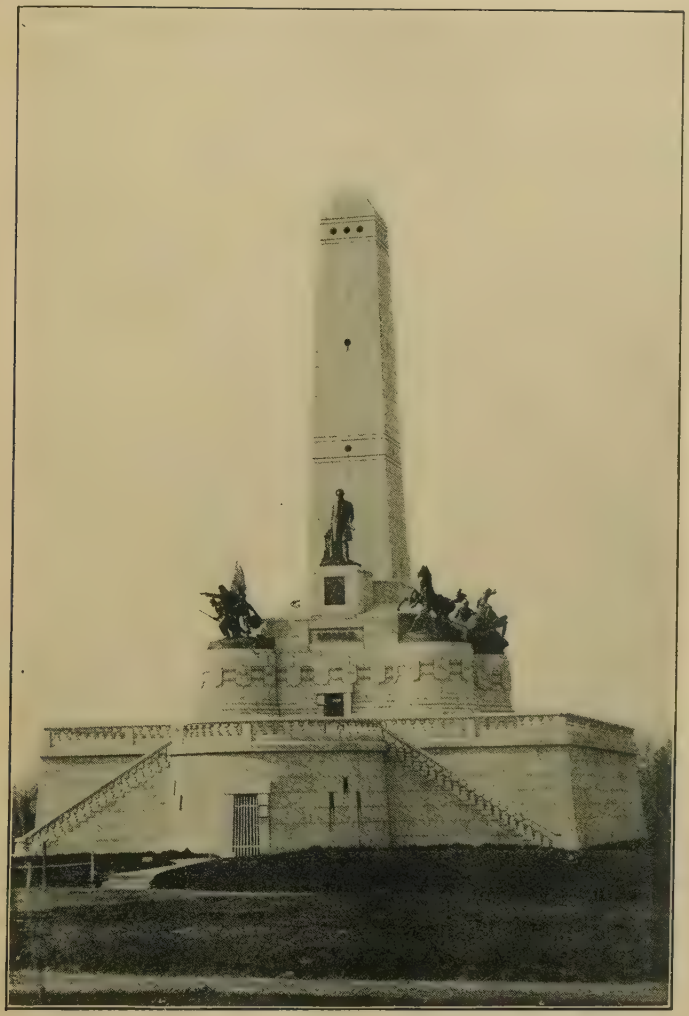
ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

December 5, 1864

To the Senate and House of Representatives:
In conformity to the law of [the] 16th of July, 1862, I most cordially recommend that Lieutenant William B. Cushing, United States Navy, receive a vote of thanks from Congress for his important, gallant, and perilous achievement in destroying the rebel iron-clad steamer *Albemarle,* on the night of the 27th of October, 1864, at Plymouth, North Carolina. The destruction of so formidable a vessel, which had resisted the continued attacks of a number of our vessels on former occasions, is an important event touching our future naval and military operations, and would reflect honor on any officer, and redounds to the credit of this young officer and the few brave comrades who assisted in this successful and daring undertaking.

Lincoln Monument, Springfield, Ills.

Erected after the Design of Larkin G. Mead.



Annual Message to Congress, December 6, 1864.[1]

FELLOW-CITIZENS of the Senate and House of Representatives: Again the blessings of health and abundant harvests claim our profoundest gratitude to Almighty God.

The condition of our foreign affairs is reasonably satisfactory.

Mexico continues to be a theater of civil war. While our political relations with that country have undergone no change, we have, at the same time, strictly maintained neutrality between the belligerents. At the request of the States of Costa Rica and Nicaragua, a competent engineer has been authorized to make a survey of the River San Juan and the Port of San Juan.

[1] The election in November resulted in Lincoln receiving 212 out of 233 votes in the Electoral College. It vindicated his policy and strengthened his hands for the work before him. A few hours after the election closed he said: "We have more men now than we had when the war began." The main issue before the people was the adoption of the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution, making slavery forever impossible and perpetuating the effect of the Emancipation Proclamation which Lincoln himself had regarded as temporary. This message has been considered the best possible brief review of the situation.

It is a source of much satisfaction that the difficulties which for a moment excited some political apprehensions and caused a closing of the inter-oceanic transit route, have been amicably adjusted, and that there is a good prospect that the route will soon be reopened with an increase of capacity and adaptation. We could not exaggerate either the commercial or the political importance of that great improvement. It would be doing injustice to an important South American State not to acknowledge the directness, frankness, and cordiality with which the United States of Colombia have entered into intimate relations with this government. A claims convention has been constituted to complete the unfinished work of the one which closed its session in 1861.

The new liberal constitution of Venezuela having gone into effect with the universal acquiescence of the people, the government under it has been recognized, and diplomatic intercourse with it has been opened in a cordial and friendly spirit. The long-deferred Aves Island claim has been satisfactorily paid and discharged.

Mutual payments have been made of the claims awarded by the late joint commission for the settlement of claims between the United States and Peru. An earnest and cordial friendship continues to exist between the two countries, and

such efforts as were in my power have been used to remove misunderstanding, and avert a threatened war between Peru and Spain.

Our relations are of the most friendly nature with Chili, the Argentine Republic, Bolivia, Costa Rica, Paraguay, San Salvador, and Hayti.

During the past year no differences of any kind have arisen with any of these republics, and on the other hand, their sympathies with the United States are constantly expressed with cordiality and earnestness.

The claim arising from the seizure of the cargo of the brig *Macedonian* in 1821 has been paid in full by the Government of Chili.

Civil war continues in the Spanish part of San Domingo, apparently without prospect of an early close.

Official correspondence has been freely opened with Liberia, and it gives us a pleasing view of social and political progress in that republic. It may be expected to derive new vigor from American influence, improved by the rapid disappearance of slavery in the United States.

I solicit your authority to furnish to the republic a gunboat, at moderate cost, to be reimbursed to the United States by instalments. Such a vessel is needed for the safety of that State against the native African races, and in Liberian hands it would be more effective in

arresting the African slave-trade than a squadron in our own hands. The possession of the least organized naval force would stimulate a generous ambition in the republic, and the confidence which we should manifest by furnishing it would win forbearance and favor toward the colony from all civilized nations.

The proposed overland telegraph between America and Europe, by the way of Behring's Straits and Asiatic Russia, which was sanctioned by Congress at the last session, has been undertaken, under very favorable circumstances, by an association of American citizens, with the cordial good-will and support as well of this government as those of Great Britain and Russia. Assurances have been received from most of the South American States of their high appreciation of the enterprise and their readiness to coöperate in constructing lines tributary to that world-encircling communication. I learn with much satisfaction that the noble design of a telegraphic communication between the eastern coast of America and Great Britain has been renewed, with full expectation of its early accomplishment.

Thus it is hoped that with the return of domestic peace the country will be able to resume with energy and advantage its former high career of commerce and civilization.

Our very popular and estimable representative in Egypt died in April last. An unpleasant altercation which arose between the temporary incumbent of the office and the government of the Pasha, resulted in a suspension of intercourse. The evil was promptly corrected on the arrival of the successor in the consulate, and our relations with Egypt, as well as our relations with the Barbary Powers, are entirely satisfactory.

The rebellion which has so long been flagrant in China has at last been suppressed with the coöperating good offices of this government and of the other western commercial States. The judicial consular establishment there has become very difficult and onerous, and it will need legislative revision to adapt it to the extension of our commerce and to the more intimate intercourse which has been instituted with the government and people of that vast empire. China seems to be accepting with hearty good-will the conventional laws which regulate commercial and social intercourse among the western nations. Owing to the peculiar situation of Japan and the anomalous form of its government, the action of that empire in performing treaty stipulations is inconstant and capricious. Nevertheless, good progress has been effected by the western powers moving with enlightened concert.

Our own pecuniary claims have been allowed or put in course of settlement, and the inland sea has been reopened to commerce. There is reason also to believe that these proceedings have increased rather than diminished the friendship of Japan toward the United States.

The ports of Norfolk, Fernandina, and Pensacola have been opened by proclamation. It is hoped that foreign merchants will now consider whether it is not safer and more profitable to themselves, as well as just to the United States, to resort to these and other open ports, than it is to pursue, through many hazards, and at vast cost, a contraband trade with other ports which are closed, if not by actual military occupation, at least by a lawful and effective blockade.

For myself, I have no doubt of the power and duty of the executive, under the law of nations, to exclude enemies of the human race from an asylum in the United States. If Congress should think that proceedings in such cases lack the authority of law, or ought to be further regulated by it, I recommend that provision be made for effectually preventing foreign slave-traders from acquiring domicile and facilities for their criminal occupation in our country.

It is possible that if it were a new and open question, the maritime powers, with the lights they now enjoy, would not concede the privileges

of a naval belligerent to the insurgents of the United States, destitute as they are, and always have been, equally of ships-of-war and of ports and harbors. Disloyal emissaries have been neither less assiduous nor more successful during the last year than they were before that time in their efforts, under favor of that privilege, to embroil our country in foreign wars. The desire and determination of the governments of the maritime States to defeat that design are believed to be as sincere as, and cannot be more earnest than, our own. Nevertheless, unforeseen political difficulties have arisen, especially in Brazilian and British ports, and on the northern boundary of the United States, which have required, and are likely to continue to require, the practice of constant vigilance and a just and conciliatory spirit on the part of the United States, as well as of the nations concerned and their governments.

Commissioners have been appointed, under the treaty with Great Britain, on the adjustment of the claims of the Hudson's Bay and Puget's Sound Agricultural Companies in Oregon, and are now proceeding to the execution of the trust assigned to them.

In view of the insecurity of life and property in the region adjacent to the Canadian border, by reason of recent assaults and depredations

committed by inimical and desperate persons who are harbored there, it has been thought proper to give notice that after the expiration of six months, the period conditionally stipulated in the existing arrangement with Great Britain, the United States must hold themselves at liberty to increase their naval armament upon the lakes if they shall find that proceeding necessary. The condition of the border will necessarily come into consideration in connection with the question of continuing or modifying the rights of transit from Canada through the United States, as well as the regulation of imposts, which were temporarily established by the Reciprocity Treaty of the 5th of June, 1854.

I desire, however, to be understood while making this statement, that the colonial authorities of Canada are not deemed to be intentionally unjust or unfriendly toward the United States; but, on the contrary, there is every reason to expect that, with the approval of the Imperial Government, they will take the necessary measures to prevent new incursions across the border.

The act passed at the last session for the encouragement of immigration has, so far as was possible, been put in operation. It seems to need amendment which will enable the officers of the government to prevent the practice of frauds against the immigrants while on their way and

on their arrival in the ports, so as to secure them here a free choice of avocations and places of settlement. A liberal disposition toward this great national policy is manifested by most of the European States, and ought to be reciprocated on our part by giving the immigrants effective national protection. I regard our immigrants as one of the principal replenishing streams which are appointed by Providence to repair the ravages of internal war, and its wastes of national strength and health. All that is necessary is to secure the flow of that stream in its present fullness, and to that end the government must, in every way, make it manifest that it neither needs nor designs to impose involuntary military service upon those who come from other lands to cast their lot in our country.

The financial affairs of the government have been successfully administered during the last year. The legislation of the last session of Congress has beneficially affected the revenues, although sufficient time has not yet elapsed to experience the full effect of several of the provisions of the acts of Congress imposing increased taxation.

The receipts during the year, from all sources, upon the basis of warrants signed by the Secretary of the Treasury, including loans and the balance in the treasury on the first day of July,

1863, were $1,394,796,007.62, and the aggregate disbursements, upon the same basis, were $1,298,056,101.89, leaving a balance in the treasury, as shown by warrants, of $96,739,905.73.

Deduct from these amounts the amount of the principal of the public debt redeemed, and the amount of issues in substitution therefor, and the actual cash operations of the treasury were: receipts, $884,076,646.57; disbursements, $865,234,087.86, which leaves a cash balance in the treasury of $18,842,558.71.

Of the receipts, there were derived from customs, $102,316,152.99; from lands, $588,333.29; from direct taxes, $475,648.96; from internal revenue, $109,741,134.10; from miscellaneous sources, $47,511,448.10; and from loans applied to actual expenditures, including former balance, $623,443,929.13.

There were disbursed for the civil service, $27,505,599.46; for pensions and Indians, $7,517,930.97; for the War Department, $690,791,842.97; for the Navy Department, $85,733,292.77; for interest on the public debt, $53,685,421.69—making an aggregate of $865,234,087.86, and leaving a balance in the treasury of $18,842,558.71, as before stated.

For the actual receipts and disbursements for the first quarter, and the estimated receipts and disbursements for the three remaining quarters

of the current fiscal year, and the general operations of the treasury in detail, I refer you to the report of the Secretary of the Treasury. I concur with him in the opinion that the proportion of moneys required to meet the expenses consequent upon the war derived from taxation should be still further increased; and I earnestly invite your attention to this subject, to the end that there may be such additional legislation as shall be required to meet the just expectations of the Secretary.

The public debt on the first day of July last, as appears by the books of the treasury, amounted to $1,740,690,489.49. Probably, should the war continue for another year, that amount may be increased by not far from $500,000,000. Held as it is, for the most part, by our own people, it has become a substantial branch of national though private property. For obvious reasons, the more nearly this property can be distributed among all the people, the better. To favor such general distribution, greater inducements to become owners might, perhaps, with good effect, and without injury, be presented to persons of limited means. With this view, I suggest whether it might not be both competent and expedient for Congress to provide that a limited amount of some future issue of public securities might be held by any bona-

fide purchaser exempt from taxation, and from seizure for debt under such restrictions and limitations as might be necessary to guard against abuse of so important a privilege. This would enable every prudent person to set aside a small annuity against a possible day of want.

Privileges like these would render the possession of such securities, to the amount limited, most desirable to every person of small means who might be able to save enough for the purpose. The great advantage of citizens being creditors as well as debtors, with relation to the public debt, is obvious. Men readily perceive that they cannot be much oppressed by a debt which they owe to themselves.

The public debt on the first day of July last, although somewhat exceeding the estimate of the Secretary of the Treasury made to Congress at the commencement of the last session, falls short of the estimate of that officer made in the preceding December, as to its probable amount at the beginning of this year, by the sum of $3,995,097.31. This fact exhibits a satisfactory condition and conduct of the operations of the treasury.

The national banking system is proving to be acceptable to capitalists and to the people. On the twenty-fifth day of November 584 national banks had been organized, a considerable num-

ber of which were conversions from State banks. Changes from State systems to the national system are rapidly taking place, and it is hoped that very soon there will be in the United States no banks of issue not authorized by Congress, and no bank-note circulation not secured by the government. That the government and the people will derive great benefit from this change in the banking systems of the country, can hardly be questioned. The national system will create a reliable and permanent influence in support of the national credit, and protect the people against losses in the use of paper money. Whether or not any further legislation is advisable for the suppression of State bank issues, it will be for Congress to determine. It seems quite clear that the treasury cannot be satisfactorily conducted unless the government can exercise a restraining power over the bank-note circulation of the country.

The report of the Secretary of War and the accompanying documents will detail the campaigns of the armies in the field since the date of the last annual message, and also the operations of the several administrative bureaus of the War Department during the last year. It will also specify the measures deemed essential for the national defense, and to keep up and supply the requisite miitary force.

The report of the Secretary of the Navy presents a comprehensive and satisfactory exhibit of the affairs of that department and of the naval service. It is a subject of congratulation and laudable pride to our countrymen that a navy of such vast proportions has been organized in so brief a period, and conducted with so much efficiency and success. The general exhibit of the navy, including vessels under construction on the 1st of December, 1864, shows a total of 671 vessels, carrying 4610 guns, and 510,396 tons, being an actual increase during the year, over and above all losses by shipwreck or in battle, of 83 vessels, 167 guns, and 42,427 tons.

The total number of men at this time in the naval service, including officers, is about 51,000.

There have been captured by the navy during the year, 324 vessels, and the whole number of naval captures since hostilities commenced is 1379, of which 267 are steamers.

The gross proceeds arising from the sale of condemned prize property thus far reported amounts to $14,396,250.51. A large amount of such proceeds is still under adjudication and yet to be reported.

The total expenditure of the Navy Department of every description, including the cost of the immense squadrons that have been called into existence from the 4th of March, 1861, to

the 1st of November, 1864, is $238,647,262.35.

Your favorable consideration is invited to the various recommendations of the Secretary of the Navy, especially in regard to a navy-yard and suitable establishment for the construction and repair of iron vessels, and the machinery and armature for our ships, to which reference was made in my last annual message.

Your attention is also invited to the views expressed in the report in relation to the legislation of Congress, at its last session, in respect to prize on our inland waters.

I cordially concur in the recommendations of the Secretary as to the propriety of creating the new rank of vice-admiral in our naval service.

Your attention is invited to the report of the Postmaster-General for a detailed account of the operations and financial condition of the Post-office Department.

The postal revenues for the year ending June 30, 1864, amounted to $12,438,253.78, and the expenditures to $12,644,786.20; the excess of expenditures over receipts being $206,532.42.

The views presented by the Postmaster-General on the subject of special grants by the government, in aid of the establishment of new lines of ocean mail steamships, and the policy he recommends for the development of increased commercial intercourse with adjacent and neigh-

boring countries, should receive the careful consideration of Congress.

It is of noteworthy interest that the steady expansion of population, improvement, and governmental institutions over the new and unoccupied portions of our country have scarcely been checked, much less impeded or destroyed, by our great civil war, which at first glance would seem to have absorbed almost the entire energies of the nation.

The organization and admission of the State of Nevada has been completed in conformity with law, and thus our excellent system is firmly established in the mountains which once seemed a barren and uninhabitable waste between the Atlantic States and those which have grown up on the coast of the Pacific Ocean.

The Territories of the Union are generally in a condition of prosperity and rapid growth. Idaho and Montana, by reason of their great distance and the interruption of communication with them by Indian hostilities, have been only partially organized; but it is understood that these difficulties are about to disappear, which will permit their governments, like those of the others, to go into speedy and full operation.

As intimately connected with and promotive of this material growth of the nation, I ask the attention of Congress to the valuable information

and important recommendations relating to the public lands, Indian affairs, the Pacific Railroad, and mineral discoveries contained in the report of the Secretary of the Interior, which is herewith transmitted, and which report also embraces the subjects of patents, pensions, and other topics of public interest pertaining to his department. The quantity of public land disposed of during the five quarters ending on the 30th of September last was 4,221,342 acres, of which 1,538,614 acres were entered under the homestead law. The remainder was located with military land warrants, agricultural scrip certified to States for railroads, and sold for cash. The cash received from sales and location fees was $1,019,446.

The income from sales during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1864, was $678,007.21, against $136,077.95 received during the preceding year. The aggregate number of acres surveyed during the year has been equal to the quantity disposed of, and there is open to settlement about 133,000,000 acres of surveyed land.

The great enterprise of connecting the Atlantic with the Pacific States by railways and telegraph lines has been entered upon with a vigor that gives assurance of success, notwithstanding the embarrassments arising from the prevailing high prices of materials and labor. The

route of the main line of the road has been definitely located for one hundred miles westward from the initial point at Omaha City, Nebraska, and a preliminary location of the Pacific Railroad of California has been made from Sacramento, eastward, to the great bend of Truckee River, in Nevada.

Numerous discoveries of gold, silver, and cinnabar mines have been added to the many heretofore known, and the country occupied by the Sierra Nevada and Rocky Mountains and the subordinate ranges now teems with enterprising labor which is richly remunerative. It is believed that the product of the mines of precious metals in that region has, during the year, reached, if not exceeded, $100,000,000 in value.

It was recommended in my last annual message that our Indian system be remodeled. Congress, at its last session, acting upon the recommendation, did provide for reorganizing the system in California, and it is believed that under the present organization the management of the Indians there will be attended with reasonable success. Much yet remains to be done to provide for the proper government of the Indians in other parts of the country, to render it secure for the advancing settler and to provide for the welfare of the Indian. The Secretary reiterates his recommendations,

and to them the attention of Congress is invited.

The liberal provisions made by Congress for paying pensions to invalid soldiers and sailors of the Republic, and to the widows, orphans, and dependent mothers of those who have fallen in battle, or died of disease contracted, or of wounds received, in the service of their country, have been diligently administered.

There have been added to the pension-rolls, during the year ending the thirtieth day of June last, the names of 16,770 invalid soldiers, and of 271 disabled seamen; making the present number of army invalid pensioners, 22,767, and of navy invalid pensioners, 712.

Of widows, orphans, and mothers, 22,198 have been placed on the army pension-rolls, and 248 on the navy-rolls. The present number of army pensioners of this class is 25,433, and of navy pensioners, 793. At the beginning of the year, the number of Revolutionary pensioners was 1430; only twelve of them were soldiers, of whom seven have since died. The remainder are those who under the law receive pensions because of relationship to Revolutionary soldiers. During the year ending the 30th of June, 1864, $4,504,616.92 have been paid to pensioners of all classes.

I cheerfully commend to your continued patronage the benevolent institutions of the District

of Columbia, which have hitherto been established or fostered by Congress, and respectfully refer for information concerning them, and in relation to the Washington aqueduct, the Capitol, and other matters of local interest, to the report of the Secretary.

The Agricultural Department, under the supervision of its present energetic and faithful head, is rapidly commending itself to the great and vital interest it was created to advance. It is peculiarly the people's department, in which they feel more directly concerned than in any other. I commend it to the continued attention and fostering care of Congress.

The war continues. Since the last annual messages, all the important lines and positions then occupied by our forces have been maintained, and our arms have steadily advanced, thus liberating the regions left in rear; so that Missouri, Kentucky, Tennessee, and parts of other States have again produced reasonably fair crops.

The most remarkable feature in the military operations of the year is General Sherman's attempted march of three hundred miles, directly through the insurgent region. It tends to show a great increase of our relative strength, that our general-in-chief should feel able to confront and hold in check every active force of the

enemy, and yet to detach a well-appointed large army to move on such an expedition. The result not yet being known, conjecture in regard to it is not here indulged.

Important movements have also occurred during the year to the effect of molding society for durability in the Union. Although short of complete success, it is much in the right direction that 12,000 citizens in each of the States of Arkansas and Louisiana have organized loyal State governments, with free constitutions, and are earnestly struggling to maintain and administer them. The movements in the same direction, more extensive though less definite, in Missouri, Kentucky, and Tennessee, should not be overlooked. But Maryland presents the example of complete success. Maryland is secure to liberty and Union for all the future. The genius of rebellion will no more claim Maryland. Like another foul spirit, being driven out, it may seek to tear her, but it will woo her no more.

At the last session of Congress a proposed amendment of the Constitution, abolishing slavery throughout the United States, passed the Senate, but failed for lack of the requisite two-thirds vote in the House of Representatives. Although the present is the same Congress, and nearly the same members, and without questioning the wisdom or patriotism of those who stood

in opposition, I venture to recommend the reconsideration and passage of the measure at the present session. Of course the abstract question is not changed, but an intervening election shows, almost certainly, that the next Congress will pass the measure if this does not. Hence there is only a question of time as to when the proposed amendment will go to the States for their action. And as it is to so go, at all events, may we not agree that the sooner the better? It is not claimed that the election has imposed a duty on members to change their views or their votes any further than as an additional element to be considered, their judgment may be affected by it. It is the voice of the people now for the first time heard upon the question. In a great national crisis like ours, unanimity of action among those seeking a common end is very desirable—almost indispensable. And yet no approach to such unanimity is attainable unless some deference shall be paid to the will of the majority, simply because it is the will of the majority. In this case the common end is the maintenance of the Union, and among the means to secure that end, such will, through the election, is most clearly declared in favor of such constitutional amendment.

The most reliable indication of public purpose in this country is derived through our popu-

lar elections. Judging by the recent canvass and its result, the purpose of the people within the loyal States to maintain the integrity of the Union, was never more firm nor more nearly unanimous than now. The extraordinary calmness and good order with which the millions of voters met and mingled at the polls give strong assurance of this. Not only all those who supported the Union ticket, so called, but a great majority of the opposing party also, may be fairly claimed to entertain, and to be actuated by, the same purpose. It is an unanswerable argument to this effect, that no candidate for any office whatever, high or low, has ventured to seek votes on the avowal that he was for giving up the Union. There has been much impugning of motives, and much heated controversy as to the proper means and best mode of advancing the Union cause; but on the distinct issue of Union or no Union the politicians have shown their instinctive knowledge that there is no diversity among the people. In affording the people the fair opportunity of showing one to another and to the world this firmness and unanimity of purpose, the election has been of vast value to the national cause.

The election has exhibited another fact, not less valuable to be known—the fact that we do not approach exhaustion in the most important

branch of national resources—that of living men. While it is melancholy to reflect that the war has filled so many graves, and carried mourning to so many hearts, it is some relief to know that compared with the surviving, the fallen have been so few. While corps, and divisions, and brigades, and regiments have formed, and fought, and dwindled, and gone out of existence, a great majority of the men who composed them are still living. The same is true of the naval service. The election returns prove this. So many voters could not else be found. The States regularly holding elections, both now and four years ago—to wit: California, Connecticut, Delaware, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kentucky, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Vermont, West Virginia, and Wisconsin—cast 3,982,011 votes now, against 3,870,222 cast then; showing an aggregate now of 3,982,011. To this is to be added 33,762 cast now in the new States of Kansas and Nevada, which States did not vote in 1860; thus swelling the aggregate to 4,015,773, and the net increase during the three years and a half of war, to 145,551. A table is appended, showing particulars. To this again should be added the number of all soldiers in the field from Mas-

sachusetts, Rhode Island, New Jersey, Delaware, Indiana, Illinois, and California, who by the laws of those States could not vote away from their homes, and which number cannot be less than 90,000. Nor yet is this all. The number in organized Territories is triple now what it was four years ago, while thousands, white and black, join us as the national arms press back the insurgent lines. So much is shown, affirmatively and negatively, by the election.

It is not material to inquire how the increase has been produced, or to show that it would have been greater but for the war, which is probably true. The important fact remains demonstrated that we have more men now than we had when the war began; that we are not exhausted, nor in process of exhaustion; that we are gaining strength, and may, if need be, maintain the contest indefinitely. This as to men. Material resources are now more complete and abundant than ever.

The national resources, then, are unexhausted, and, as we believe, inexhaustible. The public purpose to reëstablish and maintain the national authority is unchanged, and, as we believe, unchangeable. The manner of continuing the effort remains to choose. On careful consideration of all the evidence accessible, it seems to me that no attempt at negotiation with the in-

surgent leader could result in any good. He would accept nothing short of severance of the Union—precisely what we will not and cannot give. His declarations to this effect are explicit and oft repeated. He does not attempt to deceive us. He affords us no excuse to deceive ourselves. He cannot voluntarily re-accept the Union; we cannot voluntarily yield it.

Between him and us the issue is distinct, simple, and inflexible. It is an issue which can only be tried by war, and decided by victory. If we yield, we are beaten; if the Southern people fail him, he is beaten. Either way it would be the victory and defeat following war. What is true, however, of him who heads the insurgent cause, is not necessarily true of those who follow. Although he cannot re-accept the Union, they can. Some of them, we know, already desire peace and reunion. The number of such may increase.

They can at any moment have peace simply by laying down their arms and submitting to the national authority under the Constitution. After so much the government could not, if it would, maintain war against them. The loyal people would not sustain or allow it. If questions should remain, we would adjust them by the peaceful means of legislation, conference, courts, and votes, operating only in constitu-

tional and lawful channels. Some certain, and other possible, questions are, and would be, beyond the executive power to adjust; as, for instance, the admission of members into Congress, and whatever might require the appropriation of money. The executive power itself would be greatly diminished by the cessation of actual war. Pardons and remissions of forfeitures, however, would still be within executive control. In what spirit and temper this control would be exercised, can be fairly judged of by the past.

A year ago general pardon and amnesty, upon specified terms, were offered to all except certain designated classes, and it was at the same time made known that the excepted classes were still within contemplation of special clemency. During the year many availed themselves of the general provision, and many more would only that the signs of bad faith in some led to such precautionary measures as rendered the practical process less easy and certain. During the same time, also, special pardons have been granted to individuals of the excepted classes, and no voluntary application has been denied.

Thus, practically, the door has been for a full year open to all, except such as were not in condition to make free choice—that is, such as were in custody or under constraint. It is still so open to all; but the time may come—probably

will come—when public duty shall demand that it be closed; and that in lieu more rigorous measures than heretofore shall be adopted.

In presenting the abandonment of armed resistance to the national authority on the part of the insurgents as the only indispensable condition to ending the war on the part of the government, I retract nothing heretofore said as to slavery. I repeat the declaration made a year ago, that "while I remain in my present position I shall not attempt to retract or modify the Emancipation Proclamation, nor shall I return to slavery any person who is free by the terms of that proclamation, or by any of the acts of Congress."

If the people should, by whatever mode or means, make it an executive duty to reënslave such persons, another, and not I, must be their instrument to perform it.

In stating a single condition of peace, I mean simply to say, that the war will cease on the part of the government whenever it shall have ceased on the part of those who began it.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

RESPONSE TO A SERENADE, December 6, 1864

Friends and Fellow-Citizens: I believe I shall never be old enough to speak without embarrassment when I have nothing to talk about.

I have no good news to tell you, and yet I have no bad news to tell. We have talked of elections until there is nothing more to say about them. The most interesting news we now have is from Sherman. We all know where he went in, but I can't tell where he will come out. I will now close by proposing three cheers for General Sherman and his army.

Nomination of Chief Justice Chase

Executive Mansion, Washington, D. C.,
December 6, 1864.

To the Senate of the United States: I nominate Salmon P. Chase, of Ohio, to be Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, *vice* Roger B. Taney deceased.

Abraham Lincoln.

*Telegram to Governor W. P. Hall

Executive Mansion, Washington, D. C.,
December 7, 1864.

Governor Hall, Jefferson City, Mo.: Complaint is made to me of the doings of a man at Hannibal, Mo., by the name of Haywood, who, as I am told has charge of some militia force, and is not in the U. S. service. Please inquire into the matter and correct anything you may find amiss if in your power.

A. Lincoln.

Letter to General E. R. S. Canby

Executive Mansion, December 12, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL CANBY: I think it is probable that you are laboring under some misapprehension as to the purpose, or rather the motive, of the government on two points—cotton, and the new Louisiana State government.

It is conceded that the military operations are the first in importance; and as to what is indispensable to these operations, the department commander must be judge and master.

But the other matters mentioned I suppose to be of public importance also; and what I have attempted in regard to them is not merely a concession to private interest and pecuniary greed.

As to cotton. By the external blockade, the price is made certainly six times as great as it was. And yet the enemy gets through at least one-sixth part as much in a given period, say a year, as if there were no blockade, and receives as much for it as he would for a full crop in time of peace. The effect, in substance, is, that we give him six ordinary crops without the trouble of producing any but the first; and at the same

time leave his fields and his laborers free to produce provisions. You know how this keeps up his armies at home and procures supplies from abroad. For other reasons we cannot give up the blockade, and hence it becomes immensely important to us to get the cotton away from him. Better give him guns for it than let him, as now, get both guns and ammunition for it. But even this only presents part of the public interest to get out cotton. Our finances are greatly involved in the matter. The way cotton goes now carries so much gold out of the country as to leave us paper currency only, and that so far depreciated as that for every hard dollar's worth of supplies we obtain, we contract to pay two and a half hard dollars hereafter. This is much to be regretted; and, while I believe we can live through it, at all events it demands an earnest effort on the part of all to correct it. And if pecuniary greed can be made to aid us in such effort, let us be thankful that so much good can be got out of pecuniary greed.

As to the new State government of Louisiana. Most certainly there is no worthy object in getting up a piece of machinery merely to pay salaries and give political consideration to certain men. But it is a worthy object to again get Louisiana into proper practical relations with the nation, and we can never finish this if we

never begin it. Much good work is already done, and surely nothing can be gained by throwing it away.

I do not wish either cotton or the new State government to take precedence of the military while the necessity for the military remains; but there is a strong public reason for treating each with so much favor as may not be substantially detrimental to the military.

Allow me a word of explanation in regard to the telegram which you kindly forwarded to Admiral Farragut for me.

That telegram was prompted by a piece of secret information inducing me to suspect that the use of a forged paper might be attempted on the admiral, in order to base a claim that we had raised our own blockade.

I am happy in the hope that you are almost well of your late and severe wound.

Yours very truly, A. LINCOLN.

TELEGRAM TO GENERAL LEW WALLACE

EXECUTIVE MANSION, December 13, 1864.

Major-General Wallace, Baltimore, Md.: Do not send Levin L. Waters and the judges away until further order; and send me at once a statement of the cause or causes for which they are dealt with

A. LINCOLN.

Telegram to General G. M. Dodge

Executive Mansion, December 13, 1864.

Major-General Dodge, St. Louis, Mo.:
Please suspend the sending South of Mrs. Nancy H. Thompson, wife of Gideon H. Thompson, of Platte County, Missouri, but now in the rebel army, until further order; and in the mean time ascertain and report to me whether there is anything, and what, against her, except that her husband is a rebel.

A. Lincoln.

*Telegram Concerning H. Walters

Executive Mansion, Washington, D. C.,
December 16, 1864.

Officer in Command at Chattanooga, Tenn..
It is said that Harry Walters, a private in the Anderson cavalry, is now and for a long time has been in prison at Chattanooga. Please report to me what is his condition, and for what he is imprisoned.

A. Lincoln.

Telegram to General G. H. Thomas

War Department, Washington, D. C.,
December 16, 1864. 11:30 A. M.

Major-General Thomas, Nashville, Tenn.:
Please accept for yourself, officers, and men, the

nation's thanks for your good work of yesterday. You made a magnificent beginning; a grand consummation is within your easy reach. Do not let it slip.

A. LINCOLN.

CALL FOR 300,000 VOLUNTEERS, December 19, 1864

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:

A Proclamation.

Whereas, by the act approved July 4, 1864, entitled "An act further to regulate and provide for the enrolling and calling out the national forces, and for other purposes," it is provided that the President of the United States may, "at his discretion, at any time hereafter, call for any number of men as volunteers for the respective terms of one, two, and three years, for military service," and "that in case the quota, or any part thereof, of any town, township, ward of a city, precinct, or election district, or of any county not so subdivided, shall not be filled within the space of fifty days after such call, then the President shall immediately order a draft for one year to fill such quota, or any part thereof which may be unfilled."

And whereas, by the credits allowed in accordance with the act of Congress, on the call for

500,000 men, made July 18, 1864, the number of men to be obtained under that call was reduced to 280,000; and whereas the operations of the enemy in certain States have rendered it impracticable to procure from them their full quotas of troops under said call; and whereas, from the foregoing causes but 240,000 men have been put into the army, navy, and marine corps under the said call of July 18, 1864, leaving a deficiency on that call of 260,000;

Now, therefore, I, Abraham Lincon, President of the United States of America, in order to supply the aforesaid deficiency, and to provide for casualties in the military and naval service of the United States, do issue this my call for 300,000 volunteers to serve for one, two, or three years. The quotas of the States, districts, and subdistricts, under this call, will be assigned by the War Department, through the Bureau of the Provost-Marshal-General of the United States, and "in case the quota, or any part thereof, of any town, township, ward of a city, precinct, or election district, or of any county not so subdivided, shall not be filled" before the fifteenth day of February, 1865, then a draft shall be made to fill such quota, or any part thereof, under this call, which may be unfilled on said fifteenth day of February, 1865.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my

hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington, this nineteenth day of December, in the year
[L. S.] of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-four, and of the independence of the United States the eighty-ninth.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

By the President: WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Secretary of State.

TELEGRAMS TO GENERAL LEW WALLACE

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, D. C.,
December 19, 1864.

Major-General Wallace: Several days ago I sent you a despatch directing that one Waters and two others should not be sent away immediately, and asking you to send me a statement of the cause or causes of your action in regard to them. I have received nothing from you on the subject. May I again ask for such a statement, and also where the men now are?

A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, December 19, 1864.

Major-General Wallace, Baltimore, Md.: To whom were the reports sent? I have not received them.

A. LINCOLN.

Letter to Soldiers' Fair at Springfield, Massachusetts

Executive Mansion, Washington, D. C.,
December 19, 1864.

The Ladies Managing the Soldiers' Fair:
Your kind invitation to be present at the opening of your fair is duly received by the hand of Mr. Ashmun. Grateful for the compliment, and ever anxious to aid the good cause in which you are engaged, I yet am compelled, by public duties here, to decline. The recent good news from Generals Sherman, Thomas, and, indeed, from nearly all quarters, will be far better than my presence, and will afford all the impulse and enthusiasm you will need.

Your obedient servant, A. Lincoln.

Letter to Joseph H. Choate

Executive Mansion, Washington, D. C.,
December 19, 1864.

My dear Sir: I have the honor to acknowledge the reception of your kind invitation to be present at the annual festival of the New England Society to commemorate the landing of the Pilgrims, on Thursday, the 22d of this month.

My duties will not allow me to avail myself of your kindness.

I cannot but congratulate you and the coun-

try, however, upon the spectacle of devoted unanimity presented by the people at home, the citizens that form our marching columns, and the citizens that fill our squadrons on the sea, all animated by the same determination to complete the work our fathers began and transmitted.

The work of the Plymouth emigrants was the glory of their age. While we reverence their memory, let us not forget how vastly greater is our opportunity. I am, very truly,

Your obedient servant, A. LINCOLN.

LETTERS TO GENERAL B. F. BUTLER

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, D. C.,
December 21, 1864.

Major-General Butler: On the 9th of August last, I began to write you a letter, the inclosed being a copy of so much as I then wrote. So far as it goes it embraces the views I then entertained and still entertain.

A little relaxation of complaints made to me on the subject, occurring about that time, the letter was not finished and sent. I now learn, correctly I suppose, that you have ordered an election, similar to the one mentioned, to take place on the eastern shore of Virginia. Let this be suspended at least until conference with me and obtaining my approval. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

[*Inclosure.*]

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, D. C.,
August 9, 1864.

Major-General Butler: Your paper of the —— about Norfolk matters, is received, as also was your other, on the same general subject, dated, I believe, some time in February last. This subject has caused considerable trouble, forcing me to give a good deal of time and reflection to it. I regret that crimination and recrimination are mingled in it. I surely need not to assure you that I have no doubt of your loyalty and devoted patriotism; and I must tell you that I have no less confidence in those of Governor Pierpoint and the Attorney-General. The former—at first as the loyal governor of all Virgina, including that which is now West Virginia, in organizing and furnishing troops, and in all other proper matters—was as earnest, honest, and efficient to the extent of his means as any other loyal governor.

The inauguration of West Virginia as a new State left to him, as he assumed, the remainder of the old State; and the insignificance of the parts which are outside of the rebel lines, and consequently within his reach, certainly gives a somewhat farcical air to his dominion, and I suppose he, as well as I, has considered that it could be useful for little else than as a nucleus

to add to. The Attorney-General only needs to be known to be relieved from all question as to loyalty and thorough devotion to the national cause, constantly restraining as he does my tendency to clemency for rebels and rebel sympathizers. But he is the law-officer of the government, and a believer in the virtue of adhering to law.

Coming to the question itself, the military occupancy of Norfolk is a necessity with us. If you, as department commander, find the cleansing of the city necessary to prevent pestilence in your army; street-lights and a fire-department necessary to prevent assassinations and incendiarism among your men and stores; wharfage necessary to land and ship men and supplies; a large pauperism, badly conducted at a needlessly large expense to the government; and find also that these things, or any of them, are not reasonably well attended to by the civil government, you rightfully may and must take them into your own hands. But you should do so on your own avowed judgment of a military necessity, and not seem to admit that there is no such necessity by taking a vote of the people on the question.

Nothing justifies the suspending of the civil by the military authority, but military necessity; and of the existence of that necessity, the military commander, and not a popular vote, is to

decide. And whatever is not within such necessity should be left undisturbed.

In your paper of February you fairly notified me that you contemplated taking a popular vote, and, if fault there be, it was my fault that I did not object then, which I probably should have done had I studied the subject as closely as I have since done. I now think you would better place whatever you feel is necessary to be done on this distinct ground of military necessity, openly discarding all reliance for what you do on any election. I also think you should so keep accounts as to show every item of money received and how expended.

The course here indicated does not touch the case when the military commander, finding no friendly civil government existing, may, under the sanction or direction of the President, give assistance to the people to inaugurate one.

Order to Commanders

Executive Mansion, December 23, 1864.

All military and naval commanders will please give to James Harrison, Esq., of St. Louis, Missouri (with any number of steamboats not exceeding three, taking in tow any number of barges, scows, flats, and the like, not having steam-power, which they may be able to so take, with such goods and money as the treasury

agents may grant permits for, under the rules of the Department and none other, and only with crews to navigate the whole, and necessary provisions for himself and said crews), protection and safe conduct from New Orleans or Memphis to Red River, and up said river and its tributaries, till he shall pass beyond our military lines; and also give him such protection and safe conduct on his return to our lines, back to New Orleans or Memphis, with any cargoes he may bring; and on his safe return from beyond our lines, with said boats and tows, allow him to repeat once or twice if he shall desire.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

TELEGRAM TO J. MCCLERNAND

EXECUTIVE MANSION, December 24, 1864.

John McClernand, Nashville, Tenn.: A letter of yours is laid before me, in which you seek to have John S. Young, James Mallory, and R. T. Bridges released, adding: "My word for it, they are innocent." It is fair to presume that you would not say this without knowing what you say to be true; but a telegraphic despatch of Governor Johnson, now before me, says this very man Mallory "has been guilty of the most outrageous and atrocious murders known to civilization," and that the "punishment of death is not half atonement for the crimes he has com-

mitted on the defenseless and unoffending Union men of the county." As I know Governor Johnson would not purposely mislead me, I think it will be well for you to communicate the particulars of your information to him.

A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO GENERAL W. T. SHERMAN [1]

EXECUTIVE MANSION, December 26, 1864.

My dear General Sherman: Many, many thanks for your Christmas gift, the capture of Savannah.

When you were about leaving Atlanta for the Atlantic coast, I was anxious, if not fearful; but feeling that you were the better judge, and remembering that "nothing risked, nothing gained," I did not interfere. Now, the undertaking being a success, the honor is all yours; for I believe none of us went further than to acquiesce.

And taking the work of General Thomas into the count, as it should be taken, it is indeed a great success. Not only does it afford the ob-

[1] On November 14, 1864, after destroying Atlanta, Sherman began his celebrated march to the sea, with two corps of the Army of the Tennessee under Howard, and two corps of the Army of the Cumberland under Slocum. Sherman stood before Savannah about the middle of December, and by the 20th of the month compelled the Confederate forces to evacuate the city. Over 200 guns and 35,000 bales of cotton were captured.

vious and immediate military advantages; but in showing to the world that your army could be divided, putting the stronger part to an important new service, and yet leaving enough to vanquish the old opposing force of the whole,—Hood's army,—it brings those who sat in darkness to see a great light. But what next?

I suppose it will be safe if I leave General Grant and yourself to decide.

Please make my grateful acknowledgments to your whole army—officers and men.

Yours very truly, A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO DR. JOHN MACLEAN

EXECUTIVE MANSION, December 27, 1864.

My dear Sir: I have the honor to acknowledge the reception of your note of the 20th of December, conveying the announcement that the trustees of the College of New Jersey had conferred upon me the degree of Doctor of Laws.

The assurance conveyed by this high compliment, that the course of the government which I represent has received the approval of a body of gentlemen of such character and intelligence, in this time of public trial is most grateful to me.

Thoughtful men must feel that the fate of civilization upon this continent is involved in the issue of our contest. Among the most gratifying proofs of this conviction is the hearty devotion

everywhere exhibited by our schools and colleges to the national cause.

I am most thankful if my labors have seemed to conduct to the preservation of those institutions under which alone we can expect good government—and in its train, sound learning and the progress of the liberal arts.

I am, sir, very truly, your obedient servant,

A. LINCOLN.

PASS FOR F. P. BLAIR, SR., December 28, 1864

Allow the bearer, F. P. Blair, Sr., to pass our lines, go South, and return. A. LINCOLN.

TELEGRAM TO GENERAL U. S. GRANT

WASHINGTON, D. C., December 28, 1864. 5:30 P. M.

Lieutenant-General Grant, City Point, Va.: If there be no objection, please tell me what you now understand of the Wilmington expedition, present and prospective. A. LINCOLN.

TELEGRAM TO GENERAL B. F. BUTLER

WASHINGTON, D. C., December 28, 1864.

Major-General Butler, Fort Monroe, Va.: I think you will find that the provost-marshal on the eastern shore has, as by your authority, issued an order, not for a meeting, but for an election. The order, printed in due form, was shown to me, but as I did not retain it, I cannot give you a

copy. If the people, on their own motion, wish to hold a peaceful meeting, I suppose you need not to hinder them. A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO ATTORNEY-GENERAL SPEED

EXECUTIVE MANSION, December 29, 1864.

Hon. Attorney-General: Please give me your opinion, in writing, whether the Secretary of the Navy, or any of his subordinates, is bound in law, on application of individuals, to furnish exemplified copies of records, or parts of records, of naval courts-martial on file in the Navy Department.

Also, whether the Secretary of the Navy, or any of his subordinates, is bound in law to answer to a commission of a State court, directing the taking of his or their testimony as to the contents of records of naval courts-martial on file in the Navy Department. ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

* TELEGRAM TO GENERAL B. F. BUTLER

EXECUTIVE MANSION, December 29, 1864.

Major-General Butler: There is a man in Company I, Eleventh Connecticut Volunteers, First Brigade, Third Division, Twenty-fourth Army Corps, at Chapin's Farm, Va., under the assumed name of William Stanley, but whose real name is Frank R. Judd, and who is under arrest, and probably about to be tried for deser-

tion. He is the son of our present minister to Prussia, who is a close personal friend of Senator Trumbull and myself. We are not willing for the boy to be shot, but we think it as well that his trial go regularly on, suspending execution until further order from me and reporting to me. A. LINCOLN.

* TELEGRAMS TO COLONEL A. J. WARNER

EXECUTIVE MANSION, December 30, 1864.

Colonel Warner, Indianapolis, Ind.: It is said that you were on the court-martial that tried John Lennon, and that you are disposed to advise his being pardoned and sent to his regiment. If this be true, telegraph me to that effect at once. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, December 31, 1864.

Col. A. J. Warner, Indianapolis, Ind.: Suspend execution of John Lennon until further order from me and in the meantime send me the record of his trial.

A. LINCOLN.

NOTE TO CHIEF JUSTICE CHASE

EXECUTIVE MANSION, January 2, 1865.

My dear Sir: Without your note of to-day, I should have felt assured that some sufficient reason had detained you.

Allow me to condole with you in the sad bereavement you mention. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

MESSAGE TO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, January 5, 1865

To the House of Representatives of the United States: I herewith return to your honorable body, in which it originated, a "joint resolution to correct certain clerical errors in the internal revenue act," without my approval.

My reason for so doing is that I am informed that this joint resolution was prepared during the last moments of the last session of Congress for the purpose of correcting certain errors of reference in the internal revenue act, which were discovered on an examination of an official copy procured from the State Department a few hours only before the adjournment. It passed the House and went to the Senate, where a vote was taken upon it, but by some accident it was not presented to the President of the Senate for his signature.

Since the adjournment of the last session of Congress, other errors of a kind similar to those which this resolution was designed to correct, have been discovered in the law, and it is now thought most expedient to include all the necessary corrections in one act or resolution.

The attention of the proper committee of the House has, I am informed, been already directed to the preparation of a bill for this purpose.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

LETTER TO GENERAL U. S. GRANT

EXECUTIVE MANSION, January 5, 1865.

Lieutenant-General Grant, City Point, Va.: Richard T. Jacob, Lieutenant-Governor of Kentucky, is at the Spotswood House, in Richmond, under an order of General Burbridge not to return to Kentucky. Please communicate leave to him to pass our lines, and come to me here at Washington. A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO GENERAL N. J. T. DANA

EXECUTIVE MANSION, January 6, 1865.

Major-General Dana: The attached document, purporting to be an order issued by your authority, is sent you with the request that you will inform me whether such order has been issued by you, and if it has, please inform me by what authority it is that you undertake to impose terms in the premises not imposed by the government, and which in effect entirely thwart and defeat the object of the government.

It is suggested that if executing in good faith the order of the government in the matter in question, or any other matter, operates injuri-

ously to the military service, it would be proper for you to report to the government fully upon it, and that would be the only proper course.

Yours,

A. LINCOLN.

MESSAGE TO CONGRESS, January 7, 1865

To the Senate and House of Representatives: I transmit to Congress a copy of two treaties between the United States and Belgium, for the extinguishment of the Scheldt dues, etc., concluded on the 20th of May, 1863, and the 20th of July, 1863, respectively, the ratifications of which were exchanged at Brussels on the 24th of June last; and I recommend an appropriation to carry into effect the provisions thereof relative to the payment of the proportion of the United States toward the capitalization of the said dues.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

TELEGRAM TO R. L. FERGUSON

EXECUTIVE MANSION, January 7, 1865.

R. L. Ferguson, Warrensburg, Mo.: Suspend, until further order, proceedings to enforce a bond given by Hicklin, Hicklin & Spratt. It is not my view of the law that provost-marshals are to decide whether bonds are or are not forfeited.

A. LINCOLN.

Letter to Mrs. ——

Executive Mansion, January 9, 1865.

Madam: It is with regret I learned that your brother, whom I had ordered to be discharged on taking the oath, under the impression that he was a private, is a captain. By an understanding, the commissary of prisoners detains such cases until a further hearing from me. I now distinctly say that if your father shall come within our lines and take the oath of December 8, 1863, I will give him a full pardon, and will at the same time discharge your brother on his taking the oath, notwithstanding he is a captain.

Respectfully, A. Lincoln.

Letter to Lyman Trumbull

Executive Mansion, January 9, 1865.

My dear Sir: The paper relating to Louisiana, submitted to the judiciary committee of the Senate, by General Banks, is herewith returned. The whole of it is in accordance with my general impression, and I believe it is true; but much the larger part is beyond my absolute knowledge, as in its nature it must be. All the statements which lie within the range of my knowledge are strictly true; and I think of nothing material which has been omitted.

Even before General Banks went to Louisiana

I was anxious for the loyal people there to move for reorganization, and restoration of proper practical relations with the Union; and when he at last expressed his decided conviction that the thing was practicable, I directed him to give his official coöperation to effect it. On the subject I have sent and received many letters to and from General Banks and many other persons. These letters, as you remember, were shown to you yesterday, as they will be again if you desire.

If I shall neither take sides nor argue, will it be out of place for me to make what I think is the true statement of your question as to the proposed Louisiana senators?

"Can Louisiana be brought into proper practical relations with the Union sooner by admitting or by rejecting the proposed senators?"

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

MESSAGE TO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

EXECUTIVE MANSION, January 9, 1865.

Speaker of the House of Representatives: I transmit herewith the letter of the Secretary of War, with accompanying report of the adjutant-general, in reply to the resolution of the House of Representatives, dated December 7, 1864, requesting me "to communicate to the House the report made by Colonel Thomas M. Key of an

interview between himself and General Howell Cobb, on the fourteenth day of June, 1862, on the bank of the Chickahominy, on the subject of the exchange of prisoners of war."

I am, sir, very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

Proclamation concerning Commerce. January 10, 1865

By the President of the United States of America:

A Proclamation.

WHEREAS the act of Congress of the 28th of September, 1850, entitled "An act to create additional collection districts in the State of California, and to change the existing districts therein, and to modify the existing collection districts in the United States," extends to merchandise warehoused under bond the privilege of being exported to the British North American provinces adjoining the United States, in the manner prescribed in the act of Congress of the 3d of March, 1845, which designates certain frontier ports through which merchandise may be exported, and further provides "that such other ports situated on the frontiers of the United States, adjoining the British North American provinces, as may hereafter be found expedient, may have extended to them the like privileges on the recommendation of the

Secretary of the Treasury, and proclamation duly made by the President of the United States, specially designating the ports to which the aforesaid privileges are to be extended";

Now, therefore, I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States of America, in accordance with the recommendation of the Secretary of the Treasury, do hereby declare and proclaim that the port of St. Albans, in the State of Vermont, is, and shall be, entitled to all the privileges in regard to the exportation of merchandise in bond to the British North American provinces adjoining the United States, which are extended to the ports enumerated in the seventh section of the act of Congress of the 3d of March, 1845, aforesaid, from and after the date of this proclamation.

In witness whereof, I have hereuto set my hand, and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington, this tenth day of January, in the year of [L. S.] our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-five, and of the independence of the United States of America the eighty-ninth.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

By the President: WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Secretary of State.

Telegram to General B. F. Butler

Executive Mansion, January 10, 1865.

Major-General Butler, Fort Monroe, Va.: No principal report of yours on the Wilmington expedition has ever reached the War Department, as I am informed there. A preliminary report did reach here, but was returned to General Grant at his request. Of course, leave to publish cannot be given without inspection of the paper, and not then if it should be deemed to be detrimental to the public service.

A. Lincoln.

Telegram to General J. Hooker

Executive Mansion, January 11, 1865.

Major-General Hooker, Cincinnati, O.: It is said that you have ordered Andrew Humphreys to imprisonment at hard labor, in accordance with his original sentence, on the ground that it was not legally competent for General Hovey, having approved the sentence, to afterward modify it. While I incline to the belief that you are technically right, please let General Hovey's modification be acted upon until further order from me.

A. Lincoln.

Send copy to General Hovey at Indianapolis.

A. L.

Telegram to H. A. Swift

Executive Mansion, January 12, 1865.

H. A. Swift, Warden Missouri Penitentiary:

The President does not remember the case of the petition of General H. Barnes, mentioned in your telegram. Pardons are usually made out formally and transmitted through official channels. The President's mere signature on a petition would not be a pardon unless it was signed to an explicit order for one. I cannot send a more definite answer to your question unless it is stated more in detail.

Jno. G. Nicolay, Private Secretary.

Telegram to General B. F. Butler

Executive Mansion, January 13, 1865.

Major-General Butler, Fort Monroe, Va.:

Yours asking leave to come to Washington is received. You have been summoned by the Committee on the Conduct of the War to attend here, which, of course, you will do. A. Lincoln.

Telegram to General U. S. Grant

Washington, D. C., January 14, 1865.

Lieutenant-General Grant, City Point, Va.:

You have perhaps seen in the papers that ex-Senator Foote, with his family, attempted to escape from Richmond to Washington, and that

he was pursued and taken back. His wife and child are now here. Please give me the earliest information you may receive concerning him, what is likely to be done with him, etc.

A. LINCOLN.

TELEGRAM TO GOVERNOR JOHNSON

WASHINGTON, D. C., January 14, 1865.

Gov. Johnson, Nashville, Tenn.: Yours announcing ordinance of emancipation received. Thanks to the convention and to you. When do you expect to be here? Would be glad to have your suggestions as to supplying your place of military governor. A. LINCOLN.

TELEGRAM TO GENERAL G. M. DODGE

EXECUTIVE MANSION, January 15, 1865.

Major-General Dodge, St. Louis, Mo.: It is represented to me that there is so much irregular violence in northern Missouri as to be driving away the people and almost depopulating it. Please gather information, and consider whether an appeal to the people there to go to their homes and let one another alone—recognizing as a full right of protection for each that he lets others alone, and banning only him who refuses to let others alone—may not enable you to withdraw the troops, their presence itself [being] a cause of irritation and constant apprehension, and thus

restore peace and quiet, and returning prosperity. Please consider this and telegraph or write me.

A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO SECRETARY STANTON

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, D. C.,
January 17, 1865.

HON. SECRETARY OF WAR

My dear Sir: Some time[1] last autumn (I think it was) Shelby made a raid into Missouri; and Gen. Brown had something to do in driving him out. If Gen. Brown's report of the matter is on file, please send me a copy of it.

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN."

TELEGRAM TO RICHARD T. JACOB

EXECUTIVE MANSION, January 18, 1865.

Sir: You are at liberty to proceed to Kentucky, and to remain at large so far as relates to any cause now past. In what I now do, I decide nothing as to the right or wrong of your arrest, but act in the hope that there is less liability to

[1] This is an illusion to the last invasion of Missouri by the Confederates. Gens. Shelby and Prince, with 20,000 men, poured in, expecting to be joined by that number of recruits in the State; but Rosecrans had information, and by arrests and intimidation had so frightened the disaffected citizens that the invasion proved a failure. Rosecrans first arrested the leader of the secret organization, and received a telegram from Stanton to release him. This he refused to do, and was upheld by President Lincoln.

misunderstanding among Union men now than there was at the time of the arrest.

Respectfully, A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO F. P. BLAIR, SR.[1]

WASHINGTON, January 18, 1865.

Sir: You having shown me Mr. Davis's letter to you of the 12th instant, you may say to him that I have constantly been, am now, and shall continue, ready to receive any agent whom he or any other influential person now resisting the national authority may informally send to me with the view of securing peace to the people of our one common country. Yours, etc.,

A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO SECRETARY STANTON

EXECUTIVE MANSION, January 19, 1865.

Dear Sir: You remember that from time to time appeals have been made to us by persons claiming to have attempted to come through our lines with their effects to take the benefit of the amnesty proclamation, and to have been despoiled of their effects under General Butler's

[1] In an interview with Jefferson Davis, Blair, on his own responsibility, suggested peace on the lines of abolishment of slavery, amnesty to all combatants and the Confederate forces to cross to Mexico, drive out Maximillian and proclaim Davis dictator. The proposal did not meet Lincoln's approval. His only response was the above letter. See Message to Congress, Vol. XI, p. 10.

administration. Some of these claims have color of merit, and may be really meritorious. Please consider whether we cannot set on foot an investigation which may advance justice in the premises. Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO GENERAL U. S. GRANT

EXECUTIVE MANSION, January 19, 1865.

Lieutenant-General Grant: Please read and answer this letter as though I was not President, but only a friend. My son, now in his twenty-second year, having graduated at Harvard, wishes to see something of the war before it ends. I do not wish to put him in the ranks, nor yet to give him a commission, to which those who have already served long are better entitled and better qualified to hold. Could he, without embarrassment to you or detriment to the service, go into your military family with some nominal rank, I, and not the public, furnishing his necessary means? If no, say so without the least hesitation, because I am as anxious and as deeply interested that you shall not be encumbered as you can be yourself. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

* TELEGRAM TO GENERAL E. O. C. ORD

EXECUTIVE MANSION, January 19, 1865.

Major-General Ord: You have a man in ar-

rest for desertion passing by the name of Stanley. William Stanley, I think, but whose real name is different. He is the son of so close a friend of mine that I must not let him be executed. Please let me know what is his present and prospective condition. A. LINCOLN.

* TELEGRAMS TO GENERAL LEW WALLACE [1]

EXECUTIVE MANSION, January 21, 1865.

Major-General Wallace, Baltimore, Md.: Two weeks or ten days ago, as I remember, I gave direction for Levin L. Waters to be either tried at once or discharged. If he has not been tried, nor a trial of him progressing in good faith discharge him at once. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, January 22, 1865.

Major-General Wallace, Baltimore, Md.: The case of Waters being as you state it, in your dispatch of to-day, of course the trial will proceed. A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO WM. LLOYD GARRISON

WASHINGTON, D. C., January 24, 1865.

My dear Mr. Garrison: I have your kind letter of the 21st of January, and can only beg that you will pardon the seeming neglect occa-

[1] See telegrams of January 31, 1865.

sioned by my constant engagements. When I received the spirited and admirable painting, "Waiting for the Hour," I directed my secretary not to acknowledge its arrival at once, preferring to make my personal acknowledgments of the thoughtful kindness of the donors; and waiting for some leisure hour, I have committed the discourtesy of not replying at all. I hope you will believe that my thanks, though late, are most cordial, and request that you will convey them to those associated with you in this flattering and generous gift. Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

TELEGRAM TO GENERAL G. M. DODGE

EXECUTIVE MANSION, January 24, 1865.

Major-General Dodge, St. Louis, Mo.: It is said an old lady in Clay County, Missouri, by name Mrs. Winifred E. Price, is about being sent South. If she is not misbehaving let her remain. A. LINCOLN.

TELEGRAM TO GOVERNOR JOHNSON

EXECUTIVE MANSION, January 24, 1865.

Hon. Andrew Johnson, Nashville, Tenn.: Several members of the Cabinet, with myself, considered the question, to-day, as to the time of your coming on here. While we fully appreciate your wish to remain in Tennessee until her State government shall be completely reinaugu-

rated, it is our unanimous conclusion that it is unsafe for you to not be here on the 4th of March. Be sure to reach here by that time.

A. LINCOLN.

REPLY TO A COMMITTEE, January 24, 1865

Reverend Sir, and Ladies and Gentlemen: I accept with emotions of profoundest gratitude, the beautiful gift you have been pleased to present to me. You will, of course, expect that I acknowledge it. So much has been said about Gettysburg, and so well, that for me to attempt to say more may perhaps only serve to weaken the force of that which has already been said. A most graceful and eloquent tribute was paid to the patriotism and self-denying labors of the American ladies, on the occasion of the consecration of the national cemetery at Gettysburg, by our illustrious friend, Edward Everett, now, alas! departed from earth. His life was a truly great one, and I think the greatest part of it was that which crowned its closing years. I wish you to read, if you have not already done so, the eloquent and truthful words which he then spoke of the women of America. Truly, the services they have rendered to the defenders of our country in this perilous time, and are yet rendering, can never be estimated as they ought to be. For your kind wishes to me personally, I beg leave

to render you likewise my sincerest thanks. I assure you they are reciprocated. And now, gentlemen and ladies, may God bless you all.

Telegram to A. Wakeman

Washington, D. C., January 26, 1865.

Abram Wakeman, New York: I have telegraphed W. O. Bartlett to come and see me. He neither comes nor answers. Can you not send him? A. Lincoln.

Indorsement on Letter to F. P. Blair, Sr., January 28, 1865

Washington, January 18, 1865.[1]

F. P. Blair, Esq.

Sir: You having shown me Mr. Davis's letter to you of the 12th instant, you may say to him that I have constantly been, am now, and shall continue ready to receive any agent whom he, or any other influential person now resisting the national authority, may informally send to me, with the view of securing peace to the people of our one common country.

Yours, etc., A. Lincoln.

[*Indorsement.*]

January 28, 1865.

To-day Mr. Blair tells me that on the 21st instant he delivered to Mr. Davis the original of which the within is a copy, and left it with

him; that at the time of delivering it Mr. Davis read it over twice in Mr. Blair's presence, at the close of which he (Mr. Blair) remarked that the part about "our one common country" related to the part of Mr. Davis's letter about "the two countries," to which Mr. Davis replied that he so understood it. A. LINCOLN.

INSTRUCTIONS TO MAJOR T. T. ECKERT

EXECUTIVE MANSION, January 30, 1865.

Sir: You will proceed with the documents placed in your hands, and on reaching General Ord will deliver him the letter addressed to him by the Secretary of War. Then, by General Ord's assistance, procure an interview with Messrs. Stephens, Hunter, and Campbell, or any of them, deliver to him or them the paper on which your own letter is written. Note on the copy which you retain the time of delivery and to whom delivered. Receive their answer in writing, waiting a reasonable time for it, and which, if it contain their decision to come through without further condition, will be your warrant to ask General Ord to pass them through as directed in the letter of the Secretary of War to him. If by their answer they decline to come, or propose other terms, do not have them pass through. And this being your whole duty, return and report to me. A. LINCOLN.

* Telegram to General E. O. C. Ord

(*Cipher.*)

War Department, January 30, 1865.

Major-General Ord, Headquarters Army of the James: By direction of the President you are instructed to inform the three gentlemen, Messrs. Stephens, Hunter, and Campbell, that a messenger will be dispatched to them at or near where they now are, without unnecessary delay.

Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War.

* Endorsement on Letter from J. M. Ashley [1]

House of Representatives, January 31, 1865.

Dear Sir: The report is in circulation in the House that Peace Commissioners are on their way or in the city, and [it] is being used against us. If it is true, I fear we shall lose the bill. Please authorize me to contradict it, if it is not true.

Respectfully, J. M. Ashley.

To the President.

(*Indorsement.*)

So far as I know there are no Peace Commissioners in the city or likely to be in it.

January 31, 1865. A. Lincoln.

[1] At the time of the above endorsement the commissioners, headed by Alexander H. Stephens, were on their way to Fortress Monroe, where Lincoln afterwards met them.

Telegram to General U. S. Grant

Executive Mansion, January 31, 1865.

Lieutenant-General Grant, City Point, Va.:
A messenger is coming to you on the business contained in your despatch. Detain the gentlemen in comfortable quarters until he arrives, and then act upon the message he brings, as far as applicable, it having been made up to pass through General Ord's hands, and when the gentlemen were supposed to be beyond our lines.

A. Lincoln.

* Telegrams to General Lew Wallace[1]

War Department, January 31, 1865.

Major-General Wallace, Baltimore, Md.:
Suspend sending off of Charles E. Waters, until further order, and send record if it has not already been sent.

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion, January 31, 1865.

Major-General Wallace, Baltimore, Md.:
Your second dispatch in regard to Waters is received. The President's dispatch of this morning did not refer to Levin T. Waters, but to a man who it was represented had been convicted by a military commission of unlawful trade with the rebels or something of that kind,

[1] See also telegrams, Jan. 21 and 22, 1865.

and was to be sent this morning to the Albany Penitentiary. His name was given as Charles E. Waters. If such prisoner is on his way North let him be brought back and held as directed in the President's dispatch.

JNO. G. NICOLAY, Private Secretary.

INSTRUCTIONS TO SECRETARY SEWARD [1]

EXECUTIVE MANSION, January 31, 1865.

Hon. William H. Seward: You will proceed to Fortress Monroe, Virginia, there to meet and informally confer with Messrs. Stephens, Hunter, and Campbell, on the basis of my letter to F. P. Blair, Esq., on January 18, 1865, a copy of which you have. You will make known to them that three things are indispensable—to wit:

1. The restoration of the national authority throughout all the States.

2. No receding by the executive of the United States on the slavery question from the position assumed thereon in the late annual message to Congress, and in preceding documents.

3. No cessation of hostilities short of an end of the war, and the disbanding of all forces hostile to the government.

[1] On February 3 Lincoln met the commissioners, but as only an armistice seemed to be desired by them, the conference came to nothing. See Message to Congress, Vol. XI, p. 10.

You will inform them that all propositions of theirs, not inconsistent with the above, will be considered and passed upon in a spirit of sincere liberality. You will hear all they may choose to say and report it to me. You will not assume to definitely consummate anything.

Yours, etc., ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

RESPONSE TO A SERENADE, January 31, 1865[2]

He supposed the passage through Congress of the constitutional amendment for the abolishment of slavery throughout the United States was the occasion to which he was indebted for the honor of this call.

The occasion was one of congratulation to the country, and to the whole world. But there is a task yet before us—to go forward and have consummated by the votes of the States that which Congress had so nobly begun yesterday. [Applause and cries, "They will do it," etc.] He had the honor to inform those present that Illinois had already to-day done the work. Mary-

[2] The famous Thirteenth Amendment passed the Senate April 8, 1864, by a vote of 38 to 6. It failed to pass in the House of Representatives by 95 to 66 on June 15, but on reconsideration passed on January 31, 1865, by a vote of 119 to 56. It was ratified by 21 out of the 26 States. Delaware and Kentucky rejected it; while Texas did not act, it was conditionally ratified by Alabama and Mississippi. The result was received with the wildest enthusiasm by the anti-slavery party.

land was about half through, but he felt proud that Illinois was a little ahead.

He thought this measure was a very fitting if not an indispensable adjunct to the winding up of the great difficulty. He wished the reunion of all the States perfected, and so effected as to remove all causes of disturbance in the future; and, to attain this end, it was necessary that the original disturbing cause should, if possible, be rooted out. He thought all would bear him witness that he had never shrunk from doing all that he could to eradicate slavery, by issuing an emancipation proclamation. But that proclamation falls short of what the amendment will be when fully consummated. A question might be raised whether the proclamation was legally valid. It might be urged, that it only aided those that came into our lines, and that it was inoperative as to those who did not give themselves up; or that it would have no effect upon the children of slaves born hereafter; in fact, it would be urged that it did not meet the evil. But this amendment is a king's cure-all for all evils. It winds the whole thing up. He would repeat that it was the fitting if not the indispensable adjunct to the consummation of the great game we are playing. He could not but congratulate all present—himself, the country, and the whole world—upon this great moral victory.

Telegram to General U. S. Grant

Washington, February 1, 1865.

Lieutenant-General Grant, City Point: Let nothing which is transpiring change, hinder, or delay your military movements or plans.

A. Lincoln.

Telegram to Governor Andrew

Executive Mansion, February 1, 1865. 4:00 P. M.

John A. Andrew, Governor of Massachusetts: The President of the United States has just signed the resolution of Congress, submitting to the legislatures of the several States a proposition to amend the Constitution of the United States.

Jno. G. Nicolay, Private Secretary.

Telegram to Major Eckert

Washington, D. C., February 1, 1865.

Major T. T. Eckert, City Point, Va.: Call at Fortress Monroe, and put yourself under direction of Mr. Seward, whom you will find there.

A. Lincoln.

Letter to General U. S. Grant

Executive Mansion, February [1?], 1865.

Lieutenant-General Grant: Some time ago you telegraphed that you had stopped a Mr.

Laws from passing our lines with a boat and cargo; and I directed you to be informed that you must be allowed to do as you please in such matters. To-night Mr. Laws calls on me, and I have told him, and now tell you, that the matter as to his passing the lines is under your control absolutely; and that he can have any relaxation you choose to give him and none other.

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

TELEGRAM TO GENERAL U. S. GRANT

WASHINGTON, D. C., February 2, 1865.

Lieutenant-General Grant, City Point, Va.: Say to the gentlemen I will meet them personally at Fortress Monroe as soon as I can get there. A. LINCOLN.

TELEGRAM TO SECRETARY SEWARD

WASHINGTON, D. C., February 2, 1865.

Hon. William H. Seward, Fortress Monroe, Va.: Induced by a despatch of General Grant, I join you at Fort Monroe, as soon as I can come. A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO J. F. DRIGGS

EXECUTIVE MANSION, February 3, 1865.

My dear Sir: I have received at your hands a very fine specimen of the Mackinaw salmon trout, and I beg that you will convey to Mr.

Williams my cordial thanks for his kind thoughtfulness, and accept my acknowledgments for your courtesy in the transmission of his present. I am, sir, very truly yours,

A. LINCOLN.

TELEGRAM TO OFFICER COMMANDING AT JOHNSON'S ISLAND, OHIO

WASHINGTON, D. C., February 4, 1865.

Officer in command at Johnson's Island, Ohio: Parole Lieutenant John A. Stephens, prisoner of war, to report to me here in person, and send him to me. It is in pursuance of an arrangement I made yesterday with his uncle, Hon. A. H. Stephens. Acknowledge receipt.

A. LINCOLN.